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American Church History

A HISTORY

OF

THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST
THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS
THE UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST

AND

THE EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION

BY

B. B. TYLER, D. D.
PROFESSOR A. C. THOMAS, M. A.
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HISTORY OF THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST.

BY

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church in Boston remained loyal to the old faith. When the Rev. Dr. E. D. Griffin became pastor of the Park Street Church, in 1811, the current of thought and feeling against orthodoxy was so decided and intense that men went to hear him in disguise. They could not endure the ridicule that they would certainly receive from their acquaintances if the fact became known that they had given attention to a sermon delivered by an evangelical minister.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1798 issued a general letter in which the following language was employed:

"Formidable innovations and convulsions in Europe threaten destruction to morals and religion. Scenes of devastation and bloodshed unexampled in the history of modern nations have convulsed the world, and our country is threatened with similar concomitants. We perceive with pain and fearful apprehension a general dereliction of religious principles and practice among our fellow-citizens; a visible and prevailing impiety and contempt for the laws and institutions of religion, and an abounding infidelity, which in many instances tends to atheism itself. The profligacy and corruption of the public morals have advanced with a progress proportionate to our declension in religion. Profaneness, pride, luxury, injustice, intemperance, lewdness, and every species of debauchery and loose indulgence greatly abound."

Unbelief and immoral living were joined hand to hand. Intemperance prevailed to an alarming extent. To become stupidly drunk did not seriously injure a man's reputation. The decanter was in every home. Total abstinence had hardly been thought of. Temperance sermons were not preached; the pulpit was dumb on this evil. Members of Christian churches in regular standing drank to intoxication. The highest church officials often in-

a patient he was offered a stimulant. At marriages, at births, and at the burial of the dead, drinking was indulged in. A pastor in New York City, as late as 1820, has left on record the statement that it was difficult to make pastoral visits for a day without becoming, in a measure, intoxicated. Lyman Beecher has given an account of a ordination in which the participating ministers drank un they were in a state bordering on intoxication. The Re Daniel Dorchester, D.D., quotes a minister of this peri as saying that he could reckon up among his acquaintanc forty ministers who were either drunkards or so far a dicted to the use of strong drink that their usefulness was impaired. This man says that he was present at an ordination at which two aged ministers of the gospel were literally drunk.

The Rev. Peter Cartwright, in his autobiography, gives a dark picture of the moral condition of the portion of Kentucky in which his youth was spent. He was born in 1785. He testifies that the state of society in southern Kentucky was desperate. Lawlessness prevailed. Such was the disregard for religion in this commonwealth at one time that the services of a chaplain in the State legislature were dispensed with.

As the movement of which I am in the following pages to give an account began in Kentucky and Tennessee, it may not be improper to say, in perfect harmony with well-attested facts, that in that portion of our country the moral tone of the people generally was exceptionally low. There was a general disregard of religion, and a contempt for religious institutions. In many places having a considerable population there was not a place of public worship. The Lord's day was distinguished from other days only by greater noise, more amusement, more profanity,

and a more shameless dissipation. The predominating influence in Lexington, the capital of the far-famed Blue Grass region, was infidel.

How are we to account for this moral and spiritual desolation?

The people had but recently passed through a war of seven years' duration. Moral and spiritual deterioration is almost unavoidably the accompaniment and consequence of great wars. The Revolution in North America does not furnish an exception to the usual tendencies of war. The year 1783 marked the conclusion, in a sense, of this long and bloody conflict. The people had secured the liberty for which they had struggled with a heroism unsurpassed in the annals of the race. They were free from the rule of Great Britain, but were in a condition bordering on lawlessness. It is recorded in our Bible, in the Book of Judges, that at a certain period "there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes." This is a pretty accurate description of the disorderly life of our people during the period intervening between the close of the Revolutionary War, the adoption of the present Constitution, and the formal inauguration of the system of government under which we so happily live. This time has been felicitously described by Mr. John Fiske as "the critical period in American history." So much had been spoken and written on the subject of liberty that multitudes were unwilling to be directed in their dealings with their fellow-men by the reasonable requirements of law.

The people, also, during this period of time were compelled to give much attention to political questions. A government of some kind must be established. The liberty which had been secured by an appeal to arms must be organized and transmitted. This required much anxious

thought on the part of men who were leaders. Intense political thought and discussion are, as we all well know, not favorable to a high degree of moral and spiritual life.

Almost as soon as the new form of government had, with almost incredible difficulty, been settled, questions between the infant republic and the British monarchy came to the front, resulting in the War of 1812.

But most to be lamented, there was a famine of the Word of God. Before the War of Independence the mother-country would not permit the publication of the Bible within the limits of her dependencies on this side of the Atlantic. One of the first acts of Congress after the war was an act ordering the purchase of a quantity of Bibles to be distributed freely among the people.

Dr. Dorchester, in "Christianity in the United States," says that "the most pious people in the beginning of the present century, in the United States, entertained a faith so unlike the present belief of evangelical Christians as to almost create the impression on our minds that their religion was not the same as the religion which we now have,

the non-elect, such conversation as Dr. Wayland suggested would probably make them hypocrites!

Regeneration, as usually presented, from the pulpit and in current theological literature, by the accredited teachers in the orthodox denominations, was regarded as a miracle. Every case of moral quickening was as much a miracle as was the resurrection of Lazarus. As the ministers taught, so the people believed.

The word of God in the Bible was popularly regarded as a dead letter. There was supposed to be no power in the preached gospel to produce saving faith. The faith by which men are saved was understood to be a direct gift from God. It was assumed that the gospel was impotent to produce spiritual life. The seed was thought to be dead.

The Rev. Dr. Thomas Armitage, in his "History of the Baptists," gives an illustration of the condition of affairs among the Baptists.

The Baltimore Association met at a place called Black Rock, in the State of Maryland. Those who opposed missions, Sunday-schools, and Bible societies under the pretense that they conflicted with the sovereignty of God in the kingdom of Christ were in a majority. They denounced these institutions as corruptions which were flowing in like a flood. It was accordingly resolved that the Baltimore Association would not hold fellowship with such churches as united with these and other societies of a benevolent, religious, and philanthropic character. The names of congregations coöperating in mission work, in Sunday-school work, and in the distribution of the Word of God through the agency of Bible societies, etc., were erased from the minutes of this association. This was as late as 1836. What must have been the attitude of these churches before the new light began to spread!

Dr. Armitage says that the Sator church started with a keen zest against the Roman Catholic communion in what she called her "Solemn League and Covenant." The members of this church bound themselves to abhor and oppose Rome, the pope, and popery, with all their anti-christian ways. This, adds the historian, was all well enough, but it would have been much better to have set up a strong defense against the antinomian and anti-mission pope who crippled so seriously the early Baptists in Maryland.

An excellent way in which to obtain a reasonably accurate and full view of the condition of the Church of God and of the community at large in the United States when the present century came in, is to eliminate from the church and society, as we now know them, the spiritual organizations and forces known to be at work in this present time.

The Sunday-school was not. More than a decade of the nineteenth century had passed when the American Bible Society began its beneficent career. Antislavery societies had not been organized. The crusade in behalf of total abstinence from the use of intoxicating beverages had not been inaugurated. The great missionary and other benevolent agencies, so full of blessing to the people, came into existence subsequent to the period of time here described. Eliminate these factors of human progress and blessing, and behold the moral and spiritual desert.

The material and spiritual in man are intimately associated. Extreme poverty is not favorable to a high degree of spiritual development—nor is extreme wealth. Man's physical surroundings and condition determine, to a degree, his moral and spiritual state. A description of the religious—or, more correctly, irreligious—lives of our ancestors is incomplete without a statement of their financial,

social, and physical condition; but in this place there is no room for the proper presentation of this subject.

It is a fact that at the conclusion of our War of Independence the houses of the people were meaner, their food was coarser, their clothing was scantier, and their wages were lower than at the present time. The man who did unskilled labor was peculiarly fortunate if at the close of a week he could carry to his home four dollars. In this home there were no carpets; there was no glass on the table, no china in the cupboard, no pictures, not even cheap chromos, on the walls. His clothing was a pair of leather breeches, a flannel jacket, a rusty felt hat, shoes of neat's-skin, and a leather apron. The treatment of debtors shows beyond reasonable doubt that the generation that witnessed the War of the Revolution was less merciful than the generation that witnessed the War of 1861–65.

But from the revolting scenes in the prisons in which men and women were incarcerated for no other crime than debt it is a relief to turn.

The theme treated so briefly and so very imperfectly is capable of indefinite expansion. But a better day approaches. Let us behold its dawning.

CHAPTER II.

THE GREAT REVIVAL.

IT must not be thought, from the statement of facts c the preceding pages, that the people of the United Stat were, without exception, destitute alike of saving faith and genuine piety during the period described. Some there were who had successfully resisted the tide of unbelief and immorality. In some of the institutions of learning where infidelity had reigned it is encouraging that there were indications of a practical interest in the spiritual verities of the Christian religion.

Dartmouth College, as an illustration, enjoyed a season of spiritual refreshing in 1781 and in 1788. There was a revival in Yale in 1783. The membership of the college church, as a result, became larger than at any previous period. A season, however, of spiritual declension followed. In 1795, as has already been related, twelve years after this revival, not more than four or five students in Yale College professed to be Christians. For three years during the Revolutionary War Princeton College was closed. For a period of forty years, or from 1770 to 1810, there was no such interest in the gospel as could properly be called a revival. There were but two professors of religion among the students in 1782. As the eighteenth century came to a close there were a few religious revivals in different parts of the country. There are in existence accounts of spiritual awakenings in portions of the State of New Jersey, in parts of Pennsylvania, in

western New York, in Georgia, in the Carolinas, and in portions of Connecticut and Massachusetts.

During these seasons of special interest in these widely separated localities, some young men who were destined to exert a great influence for good in coming years turned to the Lord.

Barton Warren Stone (born in 1772, died in 1844) was such a person. In 1790 he entered an academy in Guilford, N. C., then in the midst of a revival. Here he found the peace that passeth understanding.

But almost the whole of New England was exempt from special religious interest from the year 1745, the close of the revival under Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield, which began in 1743, until long after the beginning of the present century. The same conditions, in general, existed in the churches located in eastern New York and in the Middle States.

It becomes now my pleasant task to give some account of the radical moral and spiritual change which came over many thousands of our people.

The Rev. Dr. Heman Humphrey, in a volume written by himself, entitled "Revival Sketches," expresses the opinion that "the revival period at the close of the last century and the beginning of the present furnishes ample material for a long and glorious chapter in the history of redemption."

This revival had its origin in the northern part of Tennessee and the southern portion of Kentucky.

The first indications of a quickened spiritual interest were manifested in settlements on what was then the frontier, where the greatest hardships were experienced, and where the people of God realized more fully the spiritual desolation, and where also they called on him with the most intense faith and fervor.

nant with one another and the Lord to spend specified portions of time in prayer for a revival. In some places the time designated was a half-hour at sunset every Saturday and a half-hour at sunrise every Lord's day.

The Christian population in this spiritually desolate frontier region belonged generally to the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches. The people had been attracted from Virginia and the Carolinas to what was then familiarly known as "the Cumberland country," by the great beauty of the scenery and the extraordinary fertility of the soil.

In the latter part of 1799 two brothers named McGee—brothers in the flesh and in the Lord—William, a Presbyterian minister, and John, a minister of the Methodist Church, preached in special meetings in parts of Tennessee and Kentucky—in some communities with remarkable results. As they proceeded on their evangelizing tour, their reputation spread, and the great good that the Lord was doing through them was told. They so preached the Word that many believed and turned to the Lord. Many families came to their meetings from great distances, and encamped in the woods for days. These meetings were conducted in the open air. This seems to have been the origin of camp-meetings. It is probable that the first meeting of the kind was held in July, 1800, in Logan County, Ky. The Rev. James McGready of the Presbyterian Church was the preacher.

People came to this meeting from a radius of sixty miles. Young men, young women, aged persons of both sexes, white and black, dissolute and moral, were alike stirred by the preaching of the gospel. The Rev. E. B. Crisman, in his "History of the Cumberland Church," says that, as to the character of the preaching, "the minis-

ters dwelt, with great power, continually on the necessity of repentance and faith, the fullness of the gospel for all, and the necessity of the new birth. They eloquently and earnestly presented the purity and justice of God's law, the odious and destructive consequences of sin, and the freeness and sufficiency of pardon for all."

A work of grace was thus inaugurated, the extent and blessings of which the cycles of eternity alone will be able fully to reveal.

Let us note, with some degree of leisure and care, the extension of this special interest in the things relating to the spiritual welfare and eternal destiny of men generated in "the Cumberland country," and see how, from the southern portion of Kentucky and the adjoining districts of the State of Tennessee, it was carried to the central part of the first-named State, and thence to every part of the land.

Barton Warren Stone, whose conversion to Christ is mentioned above, became an accredited minister in the Presbyterian Church. In the year 1800 he lived in Bourbon County, Ky., where he served, in the pastoral office, two churches—the congregations at Concord and Cane Ridge. When he was more than seventy years of age he gave a full and minute account of the kindling of this great revival fire among his people. The story in full is of surpassing interest. Only a part of it can be given in this place. The following is Mr. Stone's account of the revival at Cane Ridge in August, 1801.

"Things moved on quietly in my congregations," says Mr. Stone, "and in the country generally. Apathy in religious society appeared everywhere to an alarming degree. Not only the power of religion had disappeared, but also the very form of it was waning fast away, and continued so to the beginning of the present century. Having heard

tucky and Tennessee, under the labors of James McGready and other Presbyterian ministers, I was very anxious to be among them, and early in the spring of 1801 went to the scene of this remarkable religious excitement to attend a camp-meeting. There, on the edge of a prairie in Logan County, Ky., the multitudes came together and continue a number of days and nights, encamped on the groun during which time worship was carried on in some part the encampment. The scene was new to me, and passir strange. It baffled description. Many, very many, fe down as men slain in battle, and continued for hours to gether in an apparently breathless and motionless state, sometimes for a few moments reviving and exhibiting symptoms of life by a deep groan, or piercing shriek, or by a prayer for mercy fervently uttered. After lying there for hours they obtained deliverance. The gloomy cloud which had covered their faces seemed gradually and visibly to disappear, and hope, in smiles, brightened into joy. They would rise, shouting deliverance, and then would address the surrounding multitude in language truly eloquent and impressive. With astonishment did I hear men, women, and children declaring the wonderful works of God and the glorious mysteries of the gospel. Their appeals were solemn, heart-penetrating, bold, and free. Under such circumstances many others would fall down into the same state from which the speakers had just been delivered.

"Two or three of my particular acquaintances from a distance were struck down. I sat patiently by one of them, whom I knew to be a careless sinner, for hours, and observed with critical attention everything that passed from the beginning to the end. I noticed the momentary revivings, as from death, the humble confession of sins,

he fervent prayer, and the ultimate deliverance; then the olemn thanks and praise to God, and affectionate exhoration to companions and to the people around to repent ınd come to Jesus. I was astonished at the knowledge of ;ospel truth displayed in the address. The effect was hat several sank down into the same appearance of death. After attending to many such cases my conviction was :omplete that it was a good work—the work of God; nor ıas my mind wavered since on the subject. Much did I ;ee then, and much have I seen since, that I consider to ›e fanaticism, but this should not condemn the work. The devil has always tried to ape the works of God, to bring them into disrepute, but that cannot be a satanic work which brings men to humble confession, to forsaking of sin, to prayer, fervent praise and thanksgiving, and a sincere and affectionate exhortation to sinners to repent and come to Jesus the Saviour.

"The meeting being closed, I returned with ardent spirits to my congregations. I reached my appointment at Cane Ridge on the Lord's day. Multitudes had collected, anxious to hear the religious news of the meeting I had attended in Logan. I ascended the pulpit, and gave a relation of what I had seen and heard; then opened my Bible, and preached from these words: 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned.' On the universality of the gospel and faith as the condition of salvation I particularly dwelt, and urged the sinner to believe in it and be saved. I labored to remove their pleas and obligations; nor was it labor in vain. The congregation was affected with awful solemnity, and many returned home weeping. Having left appointments to preach in the congregation within a few days, I hurried over to Concord to preach at night.

"At our night meeting at Concord two little girls were struck down under the preaching of the Word, and in every respect were exercised as those were in the south of Kentucky, as already described. Their addresses made deep impressions on the congregations. . . . On the next day I returned to Cane Ridge. . . . I soon heard of the good effects of the meeting on Sunday. Many were so emnly engaged in seeking salvation, and some had foun the Lord and were rejoicing in Him. . . .

"A memorable meeting was held at Cane Ridge i August, 1801. The roads were crowded with wagon carriages, horses, and footmen, moving to the solemn camp. It was judged by military men on the ground that between twenty and thirty thousand persons were assembled. Four or five preachers spoke at the same time in different parts of the encampment without confusion. The Methodist and Baptist preachers aided in the work, and all appeared cordially united in it. They were of one mind and soul. The salvation of sinners was the one object. We all engaged in singing the same songs, all united in prayer, all preached the same things. . . . The numbers converted will be known only in eternity. Many things transpired in the meeting which were so much like miracles that they had the same effect as miracles on unbelievers. By them many were convinced that Jesus was the Christ, and were persuaded to submit to him. This meeting continued six or seven days and nights, and would have continued longer, but food for the sustenance of such a multitude failed.

"To this meeting many had come from Ohio and other distant parts. These returned home and diffused the same spirit in their respective neighborhoods. Similar results followed. So low had religion sunk, and such careless-

ıess had universally prevailed, that I have thought that ıothing common could have arrested and held the attenion of the people."

It would be interesting to describe the singular manner n which multitudes were physically affected during this evival, but there is not space to do so.

What were some of the good results of the revival of eligion which began in 1800?

The permanent effects, from every point of view, were xtensive, abiding, and in the highest degree salutary. The low plane of morals previously occupied by the people was abandoned. Infidelity received a permanent check. A distinctly religious phase of life was entered upon by entire communities. In all the churches formalism gave way to spiritual life and fervor.

The Rev. George A. Baxter, D.D., who visited Kentucky soon after the revival above described, in a letter to the Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander says:

"On my way I was informed by settlers on the road that the character of Kentucky travelers was entirely changed, and that they were as remarkable for sobriety as they had formerly been for dissoluteness and immorality; and, indeed, I found Kentucky to appearances the most moral place I had ever seen. A profane expression was hardly ever heard. A religious awe seemed to pervade the country. Upon the whole, I think the revival in Kentucky the most extraordinary that has ever visited the Church of Christ, and, all things considered, it was peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of the country into which it came. Infidelity was triumphant, and religion was on the point of expiring. Something extraordinary seemed necessary to arrest the attention of a giddy people who were ready to conclude that Christianity was a fable

and futurity a delusion. This revival has done it. I has confounded infidelity, and brought numbers beyon calculation under serious impressions."

Similar testimonies were given by a committee of th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church appointe to investigate the character of the revival.

The Rev. Dr. Heman Humphrey, whose "Reviva Sketches" were quoted in the preceding chapter, says "Looking back fifty years and more, the great reviva of that period strikes me in its thoroughness, in its depth in its freedom from animal and unhealthy excitement, an in its far-reaching influence on subsequent revivals, as hav ing been decidedly in advance of any that had precede it. It was the opening of a new revival epoch, which ha lasted now more than half a century, with but shor and partial interruptions; and, blessed be God, the end i not yet. The glorious cause of religion and philanthrop has advanced until it would require space that cannot b afforded in this sketch, so much as to name the Christia and humane societies which have sprung up all over th land within the last forty years. How much we at hom and the world abroad are indebted for these organization so rich in blessing, to the revival of 1800 it is impossible t say, though much every way, more than enough to mag nify the grace of God in the instruments employed, in th immediate fruits of their labors, and the subsequent har vests sprung from the good seed which was sown by th men whom God delighted thus to honor. It cannot b denied that modern missions sprang out of these revivals The immediate connection between them, as cause an effect, was remarkably clear in the organization of the firs societies which have since accomplished so much, and th impulse which they gave to the churches to extend th

affiliated societies of like aims and character is scarcely less obvious."

The great evangelizing agencies with which we are today so familiar came as a result of this mighty spiritual revolution, as Dr. Humphrey claims. Note the following facts:

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized in 1810. The American Bible Society was organized in 1816. The New England Tract Society was organized in 1814, and changed its name in 1823 to American Tract Society. The New York Methodist Tract Society, now the Tract Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was organized in 1817. While the American Baptist Missionary Union did not receive its present name until 1846, it was established as early as 1814. In 1819 the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized. The General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church organized the Protestant Episcopal Board of Missions in 1820. The Baptist Religious Tract Society, now the American Baptist Publication Society, was organized in 1824.

To this period belongs also the introduction of the reform in the use of intoxicating liquors.

In 1802 a total abstinence society was organized in Saratoga, N. Y. It was in the same year that Lyman Beecher delivered his first temperance discourse. Seventeen years later he delivered his famous six sermons on temperance. In 1812 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church urged the ministers of that denomination to preach on the subject, warning their hearers not only against actual intemperance, but against all those habits and indulgences which have a tendency to produce intemperance. The

from the use of distilled liquors as beverages. The Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance was formed in 1813. In 1810 the father of ex-United States Senator William M. Evarts, of New York, directed public attention to the great evils of intemperance by printed arguments. In 1811 the Rev. Nathaniel S. Prime, father of the late Irenæus Prime, D.D., of the "New York Observer," delivered a pungent discourse against intemperance before the Presbytery of Long Island. It is clear from almost countless facts that the consciences of Christian men were aroused to see clearly and to feel keenly the evils of the drinking customs of the people.

The national conscience also began to be quickened to the enormous evils of human slavery. The antislavery crusade was a religious enterprise. The moral sense of the people, having been aroused, was offended by the presence of human slavery. B. W. Stone, whose connection with the great revival in Kentucky has been mentioned, emancipated his slaves. When William Lloyd Garrison was moved to begin his life-work in behalf of freedom, he was a devout worshiper in Lyman Beecher's church in Boston. During the exciting days in the experience of Wendell Phillips, he met a company of believers in a private house in Boston, where on every Lord's day they read the Scriptures, sang and prayed, uttered words of exhortation, and partook of the Lord's Supper. Mr. Phillips testifies that the strength gained in these meetings gave him ability to go on with his work. The antislavery crusade, in the beginning, was inspired by the spirit of Christ.

The increase in the membership of the churches was large.

From the year 1800 to 1803 the communicants of the Methodist Episcopal Church increased from 64,870 to

104,070. This, however, was only the period of beginning. From 1800 to 1830 the increase in the membership of the Presbyterian Church was from 40,000 to 173,229, or more than fourfold. The number of communicants in the Congregational churches increased during the same period from 75,000 to 140,000, or almost twofold. The membership of the Baptist churches grew during these thirty years from 100,000 to 313,138, or a little more than threefold. At the same time the membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church increased more than sevenfold, or from 64,000 to 476,153.

It will be seen from this condensed statement of visible and known results that the revival of 1800 was no local nor temporary excitement. The entire country was almost simultaneously wrought upon by a mighty spiritual force, reforming, regenerating, and lifting such multitudes into a life of faith as to change the moral and religious character of the American people.

CHAPTER III.

CONTENTION AND DIVISION.

LET us return to Kentucky and see the progress of tl work in that particular region.

As might have been predicted without a special inspiration of the Holy Spirit, this new and profound interest in spiritual things encountered bitter opposition from the unbelieving, the profane, the immoral.

The work, as we have seen, was good. By it men were made better. It would, therefore, have been surpassingly strange had Satan permitted it to proceed without hindrance. But opposition was met from characters altogether unlike those here named.

The general character of the preaching in the revival in Tennessee and Kentucky has been shown by a quotation from the Rev. E. B. Crisman, D.D., author of "Origin and Doctrines of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church." A quotation from the "Autobiography of B. W. Stone" is here given:

"The distinguishing doctrine preached by us was that God loved the world—the whole world—and sent his Son to save men, on condition that they would believe in him; that the gospel was the means of salvation; that this means would never be effectual to this end until believed and obeyed; that God required us to believe in his Son, and had given sufficient evidence in his Word to produce faith, if attended to by us; that sinners are capable of understanding and believing this testimony, and of acting

on it by coming to the Saviour and obeying him; that m him may be obtained salvation and the Holy Spirit. e urged upon sinners to believe now and receive salva- n; that in vain they looked for the Spirit to be given m while they remained in unbelief; that they must be- e before the Spirit or salvation would be given; that d was as willing to save them now as he ever was or r would be; that no previous qualification was required, necessary, in order to believe in Jesus and come to him; t if they were sinners this was their divine warrant to ieve in him and to come to him for salvation; that Jesus d for all, and that all things were now ready. When began first to preach these things the people appeared just awakening from a sleep of ages. They seemed to for the first time that they were responsible beings, l that a refusal to use the means appointed was a nning sin."

Such preaching at the present time would not excite position in any evangelical church.

Good men, however, in Kentucky and other places, n thought that such sermons were calculated to seri- ly injure the church. They loved the church, and the th as they understood it. Loyalty to Christ's holy rch and fidelity to the gospel, as they saw it, required m to enter an earnest protest against the course of revival preachers in their treatment of some doctrines ally regarded as orthodox.

There were five ministers in the Presbyterian Church, ng in Ohio and Kentucky, who were active in the pro- tion of what they believed to be the work of God in great meeting held at Cane Ridge in August, 1801. eir names were Richard McNemar, John Thompson, Dunlavy, Robert Marshall, and Barton Warren Stone. Nemar, Thompson, and Dunlavy lived in Ohio; Mar-

shall and Stone, in Kentucky. David Purviance, whose name will appear further on in this history, was a candidate for the ministry, and was in sympathy with the then new theology and the new theologians.

Charges were preferred against McNemar in the Presbytery, and he was cited for trial. He was condemned for preaching doctrines contrary to the Confession of Faith. The case came before the Synod. Marshall, Dunlavy, Stone, and Thompson understood that McNemar's was a test case, and that if he were condemned for heresy they also were under a ban. When it was seen that the decision would be against them, and before the judgment of the court was announced, the five accused brethren withdrew to a garden, where, in prayer, they sought divine direction. Having prayed, they drew up a protest against the proceedings of the Synod in McNemar's case, a declaration of independence, and a withdrawal from the jurisdiction of this tribunal, but not from the Presbyterian Church.

The public reading of this document created a sensation. A committee was at once appointed to confer with the protesting brethren, and induce them, if possible, to reconsider their decision. This committee was prompt and faithful in the discharge of its duty, but was compelled to report to the Synod that the accused brethren remained firm. An aged gentleman named Rice—David Rice—familiarly and lovingly known as "Father Rice," was the most important member of this committee. He maintained, in his interviews with the young brethren, that every departure from Calvinism was a step toward atheism! The steps named by him were: from Calvinism to Arminianism, from Arminianism to Pelagianism, from Pelagianism to deism, from deism to atheism!

Since the effort of the committee to reclaim the erring brethren was unsuccessful, they were, according to the

rms of law recognized in the Presbyterian denomination, djudged guilty of departing from the standards in their ublic teaching, and were therefore suspended from the inistry.

A result of the position of these brethren and the action Synod was contention in the churches and division.

The decision of the Synod still more turned the minds of lessrs. Marshall, Dunlavy, McNemar, Stone, and Thomp-n against all human authoritative creeds. They blamed eir creed for the strife in their beloved church, and for e consequent division, but not yet had the suspended inisters a serious thought of leaving the fellowship of the resbyterian denomination.

Immediately, therefore, after their withdrawal from Syn-l, they organized the Springfield Presbytery. A letter as addressed by the excommunicated ministers to their ongregations, in which they informed them of what had anspired—the prayers in the garden, the protest, the eclaration of independence, the withdrawal, the excom unication—promising soon to give a full account of their onception of the gospel, and reasons for their conduct. his promise was in due time redeemed. Their objections the Confession of Faith were given at length. They sailed all authoritative creeds formed by fallible men. hey declared their abandonment of all such creeds as sts of Christian fellowship. They affirmed their devotion the Bible alone as containing a sufficient, and the only fallible, standard of faith and rule of life. They main-ined that it alone was "profitable for doctrine, for re-roof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness," and at by the Bible and the Bible alone "the man of God ay be perfect, and thoroughly furnished unto all good orks." This volume bore the title, "The Apology of ringfield Presbytery."

his document, drawn in the form of a will, and signed the deposed ministers, was followed by a statement ed

"THE WITNESSES' ADDRESS.

We, the above-named witnesses of 'The Last Will Testament of the Springfield Presbytery,' knowing there will be many conjectures respecting the causes ch have occasioned the dissolution of that body, think ber to testify that from its first existence it was knit ther in love, lived in peace and concord, and died a ntary and happy death.

Their reasons for dissolving that body were the fol-ing: With deep concern they viewed the divisions and y spirit among professed Christians, principally owing he adoption of human creeds and forms of government. ile they were united under the name of a Presbytery endeavored to cultivate a spirit of love and unity with Christians; but found it extremely difficult to suppress idea that they themselves were a party separate from ers. This difficulty increased in proportion to their cess in the ministry. Jealousies were excited in the ls of other denominations, and a temptation was laid re those who were connected with the various parties iew them in the same light. At their last meeting undertook to prepare for the press a piece entitled servations on Church Government,' in which the world see the beautiful simplicity of the Christian church ernment stripped of all human inventions and lordly itions.

As they proceeded in the investigation of that subject, soon found that there was neither precept nor exam-n the New Testament for such confederacies as modern ch sessions, presbyteries, synods, general assemblies,

etc. Hence they concluded that while they continued the connection in which they then stood they were off t foundation of the apostles and prophets, of which Chr himself is the chief corner-stone. However just, thei fore, their views of church government might have bee they would have gone out under the name and sancti of a self-constituted body. Therefore, from a principle love to Christians of every name, the precious cause Jesus, and dying sinners who are kept from the Lord the existence of sects and parties in the church, they ha consented to retire from the din and fury of conflicti parties—sink out of the view of fleshly minds, and die : death. They believe their death will be a great gain the world. But though dead, as above, and stripped their mortal frame, which only served to keep them t near the confines of Egyptian bondage, they yet live a speak in the land of gospel liberty; they blow the trui pet of jubilee, and willingly devote themselves to the he of the Lord against the mighty. They will aid the bret ren by their counsel when required, assist in ordaini elders or pastors, seek the divine blessing, unite with Christians, commune together, and strengthen each othe hands in the work of the Lord.

"We design, by the grace of God, to continue in t exercise of those functions which belong to us as minist of the gospel, confidently trusting in the Lord that he w be with us. We candidly acknowledge that in some thin we may err through human infirmity; but he will corr our wanderings, and preserve his church. Let all Chr tians join with us in crying to God day and night to t move the obstacles which stand in the way of his wo and give him no rest till he make Jerusalem a praise in t earth. We heartily unite with our Christian brethren

odness in the glorious work he is carrying on in our stern country, which we hope will terminate in the uni-sal spread of the gospel and the unity of the church."

The Rev. John Allen Gano, one of the earliest disciples B. W. Stone, and a lifelong personal friend, in a memo-l discourse on the occasion of Mr. Stone's death, deliv-d in the Cane Ridge Meeting-house, June 22, 1845, d:

"The first churches planted and organized since the nd apostasy, with the Bible as the only creed, or church ok, and the name 'Christian' as the only family name, re organized in Kentucky in the year 1804. Of these ne Ridge was the first."

It was at this place that, on the twenty-eighth day of ne, 1804, "The Last Will and Testament of the Spring-d Presbytery," as we have seen, was drawn up and ned by Marshall, Dunlavy, McNemar, Stone, Thomp-n, and Purviance, in which they declared to the church d the world that they were determined to take from t day forward the Bible as containing the standard of th and rule of life to the exclusion of all human author-tive creeds, and the name "Christian," which they be-ved to have been given to the disciples of Christ by divine thority, to the exclusion of all sectarian and denomina-nal designations. They sought peace with men, and ion with all who believe in Jesus.

Other similar movements—similar in aim and method—se at about the same time in remote parts of the United tes.

The Rev. James O'Kelley was a member of the General nference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1792. made an ineffectual effort to secure a modification of power of the bishops in the appointment of preachers. next morning after his failure he and a number who

were in sympathy with him addressed a letter to the conference announcing their withdrawal from that body. An effort was made to bring about a reconciliation, but in vain. The separation was final and irrevocable. This event is known in the history of the Methodist Church as "the O'Kelley Secession." The seceders at first took the name of "Republican Methodists"; but later this name wa repudiated, and the name "Christian" was taken as a suf ficient designation. At the same time it was declare that no other headship than that of the Christ would b recognized, and that no other book of authority than th Bible would be received.

Abner Jones was a member of the Regular Baptist Church in Hartland, Vt. "He had a peculiar travail of mind in regard to sectarian names and human creeds." In the year 1800 he gathered a church of twenty-five members in the town of Lyndon in the State of Vermont. In 1802 a church was organized in Bradford, same State, on the Bible alone, and in 1803 another came into existence in Piermont, N. H. Through the influence of the Rev. Elias Smith, a Baptist pastor in Portsmouth, N. H., his church adopted the views of Mr. Jones on the subject of creeds and denominational names. Several other ministers among the Regular Baptists, and also from the Free Baptists, soon rallied to this standard, and labored with great zeal and success, securing an acceptance of their views through many parts of New England and in the States of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

Thus it will be seen that in distant parts of the country there were movements of similar aim, spirit, and methods to that inaugurated in Kentucky by the dissolution of the "Springfield Presbytery." Their authors in their inception were unknown to one another. After a few years they obtained some knowledge of each other, and were surprised

nd pleased to find that they had embraced and were advo-
ating essentially the same principles. The result was a
nion on the agreement "that the name 'Christian' is the
nly name of distinction which we take, and by which we
s a denomination desire to be known, and the Bible is our
nly rule of faith and practice."

This movement proved to be so popular that in 1844
ıere were said to be 1500 preachers, as many churches,
nd 325,000 communicants. About this time, however,
ıeir numbers were much reduced by the prevalence of
Ir. Miller's views of the second coming of Christ, and the
ıillennial reign.

Let us now return to Kentucky, and note particularly
ıe progress of the work inaugurated by the members of
ıe late "Springfield Presbytery."

There were stormy seas ahead. Their plan of peace was
ather a tocsin of war. A resolution of those in authority
ı the Presbyterian denomination forbade the people of
hat communion to associate with the heretics in worship,
n pain of censure, and, in certain cases, of exclusion from
heir fellowship.

But what became of the men whose names are attached
ɔ "The Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Pres-
ytery" as witnesses?

Marshall became so fully convinced of the correctness
f the Baptist teaching on the subject of baptism that he
ave up the practice of infant baptism, and it was thought
y his friends that he would unite with the Baptist denomi-
ation. Mr. Stone wrote a letter to him on the subject of
aptism in which he endeavored to convince him of the
rror into which he had fallen. Marshall replied with such
ɔrce that Stone's mind was unsettled to such a degree that
: gave up the baptism of infants, and began to immerse
lievers who desired to be baptized in that way. After

a season Marshall returned to the Presbyterians. He was required by his Presbytery to visit the churches where he had preached his errors, renounce publicly the false doctrines, and proclaim to the people pure doctrine as set forth in the Westminster Standards. And this he did.

McNemar and Dunlavy joined the Shakers. Dunlavy lived long enough to see and lament his folly, and McNemar was expelled from the society. It is said that he too was convinced of his error.

Stone and Purviance remained true to the cause of union on the Bible. Thompson returned to the Presbyterians.

Having mentioned the letters which passed between Messrs. Marshall and Stone on the subject of baptism, it may be well at this point to set forth the manner in which immersion gained acceptance and became the practice of those who had agreed to be guided in their Christian life by no other book than the Bible. The following is Mr. Stone's account of the matter:

"The brethren, elders, and deacons came together on the subject; for we had agreed previously with one another to act in concert, and not to adventure on anything new without advice from one another. At this meeting we took up the matter in a brotherly spirit, and concluded that every brother and sister should act freely and according to their conviction of right, and that we should cultivate the long-neglected grace of forbearance toward one another; they who should be immersed should not despise those who were not, and *vice versâ*. Now the question arose, Who will baptize us? The Baptists would not except we united with them; and there were no elders among us who had been immersed. It was finally concluded among us that if we were authorized to preach we were also authorized to baptize. The work then commenced: the preachers baptized one another, and crowd

of an influence destined in time to affect v
this movement in the United States in be
d unity among Christians, by a return in b
tice to the religion of Jesus as described in
nent.

CHAPTER IV.

PREPARATORY EVENTS IN EUROPE.

THOMAS CAMPBELL was born February 1, 1763, County Down, Ireland. His father, Archibald Campbe was in early life a Roman Catholic, but this representatic of the Christian religion he rejected as being out of ha mony with the teaching of the Bible. He became a men ber of the Episcopal Church. His grandfather Campbe whose name also was Thomas, was a member of the Roma Catholic Church. The formality of the worship in tl Church of England, of which his father was a membe and the apparent want of piety in that church, led Thom Campbell to the fellowship of the Covenanter and secede branches of the Presbyterian Church. He became a ma of marked piety. The consecration of Thomas Campbe to the service of God is thus described by Dr. Robert Ricl ardson in the first volume of his "Memoirs of Alexand Campbell":

"In his early youth he became the subject of deep reli ious impressions, and acquired a most sincere and earne love for the Scriptures. The cold formality of the Epi copal ritual and the apparent want of vital piety in tl church to which his father belonged led him to prefer tl society of the more rigid and devotional Covenanters ar Seceders, and to attend their religious meetings. As l advanced in years his religious impressions deepened. H began to experience great concern for his salvation, ar the various doubts and misgivings usually presenting ther

es when the sense of sin is deep and the conscience der pressed very heavily upon his mind. For a long e his distress seemed to continually increase. By ear- t and diligent prayer, and the constant use of all the ns prescribed by sympathizing and pious friends, he ght, apparently in vain, for those assurances of accept- e and those tokens of forgiveness which were regarded necessary accompaniments of a true faith, and evidence effectual calling.' While in this state, and when his ntal distress had reached its highest point, he was one walking alone in the fields, when, in the midst of his yerful anxieties and longings, he felt a divine peace denly diffuse itself throughout his soul, and the love of l seemed to be shed abroad in his heart as he had never ore realized it. His doubts, anxieties, and fears were nce dissipated as if by enchantment. He was enabled ce and to trust in the merits of a crucified Christ, and njoy a divine sense of reconciliation that filled him with ture and seemed to determine his destiny forever. From moment he recognized himself as consecrated to God, thought only how he might best appropriate his time his abilities to his service."

ll men are to a considerable extent creatures of cir- stances. The influences about us in early life contrib- in no small degree to the formation of the characters belong to us in the high noon and evening of life. It nportant, therefore, in any attempt to understand the npbells, Thomas and Alexander, father and son, who e destined to so greatly affect religious society in the v World, especially the movement in behalf of Chris- union, whose genesis has been given on the fore- ng pages, to look briefly at the condition of men as ds the subject of religion in the portions of the world ich their characters, during the pliant period of their

lives, received, we may assume, the most permanent impressions.

Thomas Campbell was born, as has been said, in the year 1763; Alexander, his son, was born also in Ireland,

continued more than fifty years. The mere figures which represent his labors are almost enough to take one's breath away. For a man to commence at the age of thirty-six, and to travel 225,000 miles in the slow manner of the eighteenth century, preaching more than 40,000 sermons, some of them to congregations of 20,000 people, is an experience in the Christian ministry which probably stands without a parallel in the annals of the Church of Christ.

What was the immediate visible result? No pen can place on paper a complete answer to this question. It is easy enough to say that Mr. Wesley left a well-trained itinerant ministry 550 strong, a local ministry of thousands of hardly less effective workmen, and more than 140,000 members of his societies—for it must ever be borne in mind that to the very last he adhered to the idea that his organizations did not constitute churches, nor in the aggregate the church, but that they were simply societies in the church, the Church of England. The people of England, Ireland, and Scotland were profoundly moved by the ministry of John Wesley and his co-workers.

Mr. Wesley first visited Ireland in 1747, and he crossed the Irish Channel forty-two times. At Dublin there were more Methodists than in any other place except London. Some of his most efficient helpers came from Ireland. He loved the Irish, and the Irish were fond of him. His farewell to Ireland, when he was long past eighty years of age, was quite an ovation.

At this time Thomas Campbell was a young man—a young man of ardent piety. This mighty movement was gathering force and momentum before his eyes. Was he ignorant of it? Was he uninfluenced by it? Had it nothing to do with making him the man that he became in later years?

The condition of Mr. Campbell's own denomination in

Scotland and Ireland must also be taken into account. He was a member of the Seceder branch of the Presbyterian Church. This denomination was the first great schism in the Church of Scotland—the schism of 1733. There were Presbyterians not a few in the north of Ireland who were affected more or less by the condition of the church in Scotland. Ministerial aid was sent in 1742 by the Scotch Seceders to those of the Presbyterian faith in Ireland who sympathized with them. Five years later the Seceder Church "divided into two parties upon the question whether certain oaths required by the burgesses of towns, binding them to support 'the religion presently professed within the realm,' did not sanction the very abuses in the National Church against which the Seceders had constantly protested. Both divisions of the Synod claimed to be the true church. Those who considered the oath unlawful came to be called Anti-Burghers, the other party being termed Burghers. This division spread at once through the churches in Scotland and Ireland, and the controversy was maintained with considerable bitterness for many years.

"These two parties of Seceders continued for more than half a century to maintain each its separate 'testimony' and its distinct organization. They were distinguished for the tenacity and zeal with which they maintained the ground they had respectively assumed, for the strictness of their religious life, and for the rigidity of their discipline. That hatred of prelacy which prevailed among them in common with all Presbyterian parties was at first intense, . . . but it became gradually softened down, and after the lapse of thirty or forty years gave place to the milder spirit of toleration. But the disposition to confound matters of opinion and questions of expediency with the things of faith and conscience still continued to display its power; and in 1795 a question arose among the Burghers as to

'New Light Burghers.' About the same
:roversy prevailed also among the Anti-Bu
l Light' party being headed by Archibald
Campbell's former teacher of theology, wl
her ministers, organized, in August, 1806,
:ry, called the Constitutional Associate Pres
re were thus at this time no less than four d
f Seceders, each adhering to its own 'test
rofessing to adopt the Westminster Confessi
, there were not wanting various minor de
who, during the heated discussions of Syn
lies, flew off like sparks from the iron heate

ɔoled amidst such schisms in his own de
l harassed by the triviality of the differe
ıey were maintained, it is natural to supp
o catholic a spirit as Thomas Campbell co
ıtest antipathy to party spirit in all its w
ıifestations."
ıame and other similar influences were at
ler Campbell to cause him to become a zeal
ɔr the union of such as believe in the Lord
he was in the seventeenth year of his age
a effort of his father to bring about a union b

General Associate Synod of Scotland, however, dissented, and the measure failed. Of this Alexander Campbell was cognizant. In 1806 an application was made by the Provincial Synod of Ireland to the Synod of Scotland, requesting them to consider the expediency of permitting the Presbyterians in Ireland to transact their business without subordination to the Scottish Synod. Thomas Campbell was delegated to bring this subject to the attention of the General Associate Synod of Scotland. Thomas Campbell presented the case to the Synod, which met in Glasgow. In this movement in behalf of union Alexander Campbell was in thorough sympathy with his father. The failure produced on his mind a deep and lasting impression.

When Alexander was a student in Glasgow, in 1808–09, a gentleman said to him:

"I listened to your father in our General Assembly in this city, pleading for a union between the Burghers and Anti-Burghers. But, sir, while in my opinion he out-argued them, they outvoted him."

The influences to which Alexander Campbell was subject during his youth were such as naturally and almost of necessity to increase his reverence for the Bible as the only infallibly correct guide in all matters affecting the life of the soul, to weaken the force of inherited prejudices, if he had any, and to deepen his conviction that the existence of organized and antagonistic parties in the Church of Christ was one of the most serious hindrances to the conversion of the world.

Thomas Campbell's health became so impaired that his physician enjoined a sea-voyage. He arrived in the United States about the 1st of June, 1807. He was so pleased with the country that he determined to remain in the New World. His family, under the care of Alexander, sailed

n Londonderry for their new home the first day of tober, 1808. After about a week, during which the sel made but little progress, a violent storm came up, ing the prevalence of which she was dashed against a ken rock. The escape of the passengers was almost aculous. They were cast on the island named Islay, of the Hebrides. This wreck seemed at first to olve an entire failure of the well-matured plans of the npbell family. But this apparent misfortune became, er God, an important means of still further preparing xander for the work before him. The voyage must, it seen, for the present be postponed. It was soon de-nined during the period of waiting to go to Glasgow, ere Alexander could employ the time profitably with dies in the University, in which his father had received scholastic training. Three hundred days were spent in tland—days of great importance in fitting Alexander npbell for the work in which with tireless zeal and a y enthusiasm he continued until the infirmities of age dered him incapable of using his eloquent tongue and le pen.

Aside from the impressions made on him by the faculty the University of Glasgow must be reckoned the influ-es of certain friends outside with whom he came in tact. Dr. Richardson, Alexander Campbell's chosen grapher, says that "Mr. Campbell received his first pulse as a reformer" during his sojourn in Glasgow, as a result of personal association with the gentlemen whom allusion is here made.

The first man, it seems, with whom he met was the v. Greville Ewing, a cultivated, liberal-minded Christian tleman, who introduced the young man to the profes-s, and at whose house he was a frequent and always lcome guest. Mr. Ewing was highly esteemed by the

educate and Christianize others. Mr. Haldane pledged seven thousand pounds sterling for this purpose. He educated about three hundred young men for the ministry, and erected large buildings for public worship in the principal cities of Scotland. He also organized a theological seminary in Paris. At the beginning of their benevolent career the Haldanes were members of the Church of Scotland, but they left that communion and became independent, attempting to conform, alone, always, and in all things, to the teaching of the New Testament. They afterward identified themselves pretty fully with the great Baptist family, agreeing with the Baptists particularly as to the subjects and form of baptism, and the independency of the individual churches. James Alexander Haldane became pastor of an independent church in the city of Edinburgh in 1799, in which office he continued, without salary, more than fifty years. There can be no doubt that Alexander Campbell was influenced by these men during his sojourn in Scotland. He himself said, in a letter, in 1835:

"I am greatly indebted to all the Reformers, from Martin Luther down to John Wesley. I could not enumerate or particularize the individuals, living and dead, who have assisted in forming my mind. I am in some way indebted to some person or other for every idea I have on every subject. When I begin to think of my debt of thought, I see an immense crowd of claimants. . . .

"If all the Hebrew, Greek, Roman, Persian, French, English, Irish, Scotch, and American teachers and authors were to demand their own from me, I do not know that I would have two mites to buy incense to offer upon the altar of my genius of originality for the honors vouchsafed to me."

:DIATELY on the arrival of Thomas Campbell in
ted States, he was cordially received by his Pres-
ı brethren, and found employment, as a Christian
', in the Presbytery of Chartiers in western Penn-
ı. The country in which he wrought was sparsely
and it was therefore but seldom that ministerial
and public worship were enjoyed by the represent-
f the various denominations which, having floated
n the Old World upon the tide of emigration,
:n thrown together in these new settlements in
tern world. As a communion season approached,
npbell's sympathies were aroused by the spiritually
e condition of some in the vicinity of his labors
longed to other branches of the Presbyterian fam-
who had not for a long time enjoyed an oppor-
f partaking of the Lord's Supper, so that he felt it
is duty, in his preparation sermon, to lament the
divisions, and to suggest that all his pious hearers
: disposed and duly prepared should, without refer-
denominational differences, enjoy the approaching

was to the Bible. He maintained that his conduct was in accord with the teaching and spirit of the One Book, which contains all things necessary to salvation. But his earnest lament and tender words in behalf of Christian liberty and fraternity were in vain. The court found him so far guilty as to deserve censure. From this decision an appeal was made to the Associate Synod of North America. When the case was called before this superior court Mr. Campbell delivered the following address:

"Honored brethren: Before you come to a final issue in the present business, let me entreat you to pause a moment and seriously consider the following things:

"To refuse any one his just privilege, is it not to oppress and injure? In proportion to the magnitude and importance of the privilege withheld, is not the injustice done in withholding it to be estimated? If so, how great the injustice, how greatly aggravated the injury will appear, to thrust out from communion a Christian brother, a fellow-minister, for saying and doing none other things than those which our divine Lord and his holy apostles have taught and enjoined to be spoken and done by his ministering servants, and to be received and observed by all his people! Or have I, in any instance, proposed to say or do otherwise? If I have I shall be heartily thankful to any brother that shall point it out, and upon his so doing shall as heartily and thankfully relinquish it. Let none think that by so saying I entertain the vain presumption of being infallible. So far am I from this that I dare not venture to trust my own understanding so far as to take upon me to teach anything as a matter of faith or duty but what is already expressly taught and enjoined by divine authority; and I hope it is no presumption to believe that saying and doing the very same things that are said and done before our eyes on the sacred page is infal-

norality ought I to be rejected, except it be that I refuse o acknowledge as obligatory upon myself, or to impose ıpon others, anything as of divine obligation for which I ıannot produce as 'thus saith the Lord'? This I am sure can do while I keep by his own Word; but not quite so ure when I substitute my own meaning or opinion or that ıf others instead thereof.

"Surely, brethren, from my steadfast adherence to the livine Standard; my absolute and entire rejection of hunan authority in matters of religion; my professed and incere willingness to walk in all good understanding, communion, and fellowship with sincere and humble Christian brethren who may not see with me in these things; and, permit me to add, my sincere desire to unite with you in carrying forward that blessed work in which you have set out, and from which you take your name—you will do me the justice to believe that if I did not sincerely desire a union with you I would not have once and again made application for that purpose. A union not merely nominal, but hearty and confidential, founded upon certain and established principles; and this, if I mistake not, is firmly laid on both sides. Your Standard informs me of your views of truth and duty, and my declarations give you precisely the same advantage. You are willing to be tried in all matters by your Standard, according to your printed declaration; I am willing to be tried in all matters by *my* Standard, according to my written declaration. You can labor under no difficulty about my preaching and practicing whatever is expressly enjoined in the divine Standard, as generally defined in my 'Declaration,' and although I have not the same clearness about everything contained in your Standard, yet where I cannot see, believing you to be sincere and conscientious servants of the same great and gracious Master who freely pardons his willing and

conceptions of the gospel—men who were willing to give attention to overtures for Christian union on the basis of the Bible alone.

In due time these persons were united in an organization called "The Christian Association of Washington, Pa."

That all might understand its purpose and method, this association published an elaborate "Declaration and Address." This document is too verbose to find a place in full in this story. It was a carefully prepared and most significant paper. It contained the seeds of coming fruit, nor is the end yet. This paper, prepared by Thomas Campbell, as time goes on is seen to contain a far-reaching wisdom of which its scholarly and pious author had no adequate conception. This was the second document which was given to the public in the beginning of the communion known as Disciples of Christ. The first was the publication made by Stone and his friends in Kentucky, five or six years before. We can only pause, at this point in our progress, to read the following propositions, containing the substance of the "Declaration and Address":

"PROPOSITION I. That the Church of Christ upon earth is essentially, intentionally, and constitutionally one; consisting of all those in every place that profess their faith in Christ and obedience to him in all things according to the Scriptures, and that manifest the same by their tempers and conduct, and of none else; as none else can truly and properly be called Christians.

"PROPOSITION II. That although the Church of Christ upon earth must necessarily exist in particular and distinct societies, locally separate one from another, yet there ought to be no schisms, no uncharitable divisions among

this purpose they ought all to walk by the same rule, to mind and speak the same thing, and to be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment.

itution. Much less has any human authority power to npose new commands or ordinances upon the church hich our Lord Jesus Christ has not enjoined. Nothing ught to be received into the faith or worship of the church, r be made a term of communion among Christians, that not as old as the New Testament.

"PROPOSITION VI. That although inferences and deuctions from Scripture promises, when fairly inferred, ay be truly called the doctrine of God's holy Word, yet re they not formally binding upon the consciences of hristians further than they perceive the connection, and vidently see that they are so; for their faith must not and in the wisdom of men, but in the power and veracity f God. Therefore, no such deductions can be made terms f communion, but do properly belong to the after and rogressive edification of the church. Hence, it is evident at no such deductions or inferential truths ought to have ny place in the church's Confession.

"PROPOSITION VII. That although doctrinal exhibions of the great system of divine truths and defensive estimonies in opposition to the prevailing errors be highly xpedient, and the more full and explicit they be for those urposes the better; yet, as these must be in a great meaure the effect of human reasoning, and of course must ontain many inferential truths, they ought not to be made erms of Christian communion; unless we suppose, what contrary to fact, that none have the right to the comunion of the church but such as possess a very clear nd decisive judgment, or are come to a very high degree f doctrinal information; whereas the church from the eginning did, and ever will, consist of little children and oung men as well as fathers.

"PROPOSITION VIII. That it is not necessary that perons should have a particular knowledge or distinct appre-

hension of all divinely revealed truths in order to entitle them to a place in the church; neither should they, for this purpose, be required to make a profession more extensive than their knowledge; but that, on the contrary, their having a due measure of Scriptural self-knowledge respecting their lost and perishing condition by nature and practice, and of the way of salvation through Jesus Christ, accompanied with a profession of their faith in and obedience to him in all things according to his Word, is all that is absolutely necessary to qualify them for admission into his church.

"PROPOSITION IX. That all that are enabled through grace to make such a profession, and to manifest the reality of it in their tempers and conduct, should consider each other as the precious saints of God, should love each other as brethren, children of the same family and father, temples of the same Spirit, members of the same body, subjects of the same grace, objects of the same divine love, bought with the same price, and joint-heirs of the same inheritance. Whom God hath thus joined together no man should dare to put asunder.

"PROPOSITION X. That division among Christians is a horrid evil fraught with many evils. It is antichristian, as it destroys the visible unity of the body of Christ; as if he were divided against himself, excluding and excommunicating a part of himself. It is antiscriptural, as being strictly prohibited by his sovereign authority; a direct violation of his express command. It is antinatural, as it excites Christians to contemn, to hate, and oppose one another, who are bound by the highest and most endearing obligations to love each other as brethren, even as Christ loved them. In a word, it is productive of confusion and of every evil work.

ɔbvious, and universally acknowledged caus
rruptions and divisions that ever have take
Church of God.

:OPOSITION XII. That all that is necessar
t state of perfection and purity of the churc
s: first, that none be received as members b
'ing that due measure of Scriptural self-knc
ɔed above, do profess their faith in Christ a
to him in all things according to the Scri
:condly, that any be retained in her com
than they continue to manifest the reality
sion by their temper and conduct; third
inisters, duly and Scripturally qualified, ir
ɔther things than those very articles of fa
s expressly revealed and enjoined in the \
lastly, that in all their administrations the
ɔy the observance of all divine ordinances, a
le of the primitive church, without any a
ɔever of human opinions or inventions of me

:OPOSITION XIII. Lastly, that if any circum
:nsably necessary to the observance of divir
be not found upon the page of express rev
ınd such only, as are absolutely necessary
e should be adopted under the title of hun

a beautiful spirit. It is an earnest appeal to evangelical believers to come together in aggressive Christian work, by a return in faith, in ordinance, and in life to the religion of Christ as described on the pages of the New Testament. The closing paragraph of the "Declaration and Address" reads as follows:

"May the Lord soon open the eyes of his people to see things in their true light, and excite them to come out of their wilderness condition, out of this Babel of confusion, leaning upon their Beloved, and embracing each other in him, holding fast 'the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.' This gracious unity and unanimity in Jesus would afford the best external evidence of their union with him, and of their joint interest in the Father's love. 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples,' says he, 'if you have love one to another.' And, 'This is my commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you.' And again, 'Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we are,' even 'all that shall believe in me; that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me. And the glory which thou gavest me I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one: I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one; and that the world may know that thou hast loved me.' May the Lord hasten it in his time. Farewell.

"Peace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ

misrepresentations, the "Declaration and Address" was followed by an explanation called an "Appendix." In the "Appendix" the following language is employed:

"We beg leave to assure our brethren that we have no intention to interfere, either directly or indirectly, with the peace and order of the settled churches by directing any ministerial assistance with which the Lord may please to favor us to make inroads upon such; or by endeavoring to erect churches out of churches, to distract and divide congregations." They express, however, a "desire to be instrumental in erecting as many churches as possible throughout *the desolate places* of God's heritage," on the one divine foundation, "being well persuaded that every such erection will not only in the issue prove an accession to the general cause" of Christian union on New Testament principles, "but will also, in the meantime, be a step toward" this grand consummation, "and, of course, will reap the first-fruits of that blissful harvest that will fill the

ment immediately after his arrival in Washington, Pa., in the autumn of 1809, he remarked to its author:

"Then, sir, you must abandon and give up infant baptism and some other practices for which, it seems to me, you cannot produce an express precept or an express ex-

So large an amount of space has been given to the Christian Association of Washington, Pa., to the "Declaration and Address," and to the "Appendix," because of their importance in coming to a correct understanding as to the origin and aim of the Disciples of Christ. There is no other single document in existence which states so fully, so clearly, and so authoritatively the *intention* of the Disciples in the very beginning of their existence as the "Declaration and Address" with the accompanying "Appendix."

After two or three years Thomas Campbell became dissatisfied because the work for which the Christian Association had been organized did not progress as rapidly as he desired. His proposition looking toward a union of evangelical believers seemed in a large degree to have fallen on dull ears. The favorable responses to his kindly overtures were few. No societies were organized auxiliary to the society in Washington, as was contemplated. The association itself was gradually assuming a character different from that which was in the minds of its organizers. It was expressly stipulated in the "Declaration and Address" that "this society by no means considers itself a church, nor does at all assume to itself the power peculiar to such a society; nor do the members, as such, consider themselves as standing connected in that relation; nor as at all

but merely as voluntary advocates of church reformation." But under the ministry of himself and of his son Alexander, the Christian Association of Washington seemed to be gradually taking the position of a distinct ecclesiastical body. With this tendency they were displeased. The thought that they should be the agents in bringing into existence another denomination was most abhorrent to their minds. There were already too many religious denominations. Their purpose was the ultimate destruction of denominationalism in the Church of Christ. To avoid what now began to seem to be almost inevitable, the Campbells were willing to adopt any measures which were consistent with the clearly defined principles of the New Testament. It was at this juncture that the principal in this movement was invited by ministers and members to identify himself and the association with the Presbyterian Church. This, however, was not practical. The Association had no thought of surrendering its identity or its aims. It only desired to continue its labors as a society for the promotion of Christian union under the auspices and with the approval of the Presbyterian Church, and thus avoid the organization of a new denomination.

Dr. Richardson says ("Memoirs of Alexander Campbell," vol. i., p. 330) that "the society must obtain admission into some regularly organized religious body, or be itself compelled to change its attitude and resolve itself into an independent church—an alternative which Thomas Campbell particularly desired to avoid. It was this very dread of the ultimate formation of a new religious body that caused him to overlook the absurdity of expecting that any sect would receive him and the society he represented on the terms proposed. For a party to have admitted into its bosom those who were avowedly bent on

he destruction of partyism would, of course, have been erfectly suicidal."

The origin of the Disciples of Christ is represented in his narrative as a Christian union movement, as a movement in the interest of love and peace among believers; ut there is a general opinion, or seems to be, that the haracteristics of the Disciples are in direct opposition, o far as their relation to other Christians is concerned, o this pleasant and altogether fascinating representation. Vhat is the explanation?

The Synod of Pittsburg, to which Thomas Campbell pplied for admission with his Christian Association, by s action in the case initiated a most unpleasant controersy, which continued, almost without interruption, for a ufficient length of time to give the Disciples the reputaion here named. It is easy to see, from the records of he Synod, that the position and aim of Thomas Campbell ere greatly misunderstood, and consequently misrepreented. The very thing that he was doing his utmost to void was one of the things charged upon him and the Christian Association of Washington—the promotion of livision among the people of God. The work in which he vas engaged was characterized as "baleful" and "destructve"—not pleasant epithets, it must be confessed. He vas even-accused of "declaring that the administration of aptism to infants is not authorized by Scriptural precept r example, and is a matter of indifference." Mr. Campell at once "denied having said that infant baptism was a natter of indifference." The advocates of reformation and nion were compelled, by misrepresentations, for the time o stand before the world in the attitude of belligerents.

As to the peaceable purposes of the Campbells, the hosen biographer of the younger, Dr. Robert Richardson, ays that "among the numerous discourses which Alex-

ministry, and of which he preserved skeletons and notes sufficient to make an interesting volume, none are to be found of a partisan or disputatious character, and none of them are directed against existing denominations."

Many years afterward, in the "Millennial Harbinger," of which he was editor, Alexander Campbell counseled preachers of the gospel to avoid controversy in the pulpit. He himself became a polemic from necessity, not as a matter of choice; and as long as he lived and was able to preach, his selection of topics and the general character of his discourses was in harmony with the beginning of his ministry.

Circumstances, such as have been here in brief placed before the reader, at length compelled the members of the Christian Association to organize themselves into an independent Church of Christ "in order to carry out for themselves the duties and obligations enjoined on them in the Scriptures." The time of this organization was May 4, 1810. The Lord's Supper was duly observed on the following day. From almost the beginning of the organization the Lord's table was spread every Lord's day. Weekly communion was seen to have the sanction of the New Testament Scriptures, by these reformers, before they understood that the same writings require in the administration of the ordinance of baptism the immersion in water, in the name of the Lord, of believing, penitent souls. Gradually they saw this teaching, which, when they saw, they practiced. They started out to follow as closely as possible the teaching of the Holy Spirit in the sacred writings, and this they did with a steadfast devotion nothing below the sublime.

The congregation organized by the Campbells and their associates, May 4, 1810, was called "The First Church of

ıe Christian Association of Washington, meeting at Cross oads and Brush Run, Washington County, Pa."

A most important and altogether unexpected change as just before this little congregation of devoted men and omen. The members had committed themselves wholly ı the teachings of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament. hey were determined to believe and do all things en- ined on men under the gracious administration of the ord Jesus in his own book.

When reading the "Declaration and Address" in 1809, lexander Campbell called the attention of his father to ıe fact that the principles therein announced required the ɔandonment of infant baptism, since there could not be ıund in the Christian Scriptures "an express precept or ı example" authorizing the baptism of babes. A little ter he engaged in a friendly private discussion with the ev. Mr. Riddle, a minister of the Associate Reformed hurch, in regard to the principles of the "Declaration ıd Address," in which Mr. Riddle admitted that there is ɔ direct authority in sacred Scripture for infant baptism. his admission led Alexander Campbell to determine that : would make an effort to settle in his own mind and for least his own satisfaction the teaching of the New Testa- ent on the subject. Up to the time of entering on this vestigation *de novo*, Mr. Campbell occupied a position on ıe whole question of baptism well expressed in his own ay in the following words:

"As I am sure that it is unscriptural to make this mat- r a term of communion, I let it *slip*. I wish to think and t think on these matters." ("Memoirs of Alexander ampbell," by Richardson, vol. i., p. 392.)

But he now determined to abandon all uninspired author- ies and apply himself diligently and prayerfully to a care- ıl study of Jesus and his apostles, that he might learn

from them alone what baptism is, and for whom. Thomas Campbell had already immersed three members of the Christian Association. There seems to have been no doubt in the minds of the Campbells and their associates that an immersion of believers in the name of the Lord Jesus was a legitimate form of Christian baptism. The question began to be, *Can we innocently omit the baptism of believers?* The immediate result of the investigation was that on the twelfth day of June, 1812, Alexander Campbell and his wife, Thomas Campbell and his wife, Miss Dorothea Campbell, and Mr. and Mrs. James Hanen were immersed by Elder Mathias Luce, of the Baptist denomination. Thomas Campbell, before going into the water, delivered a lengthy address, in which he set forth in detail the steps by which he had reached a position in favor of the immersion of believers as alone the act of Christian baptism. Alexander delivered an elaborate address on the same subject. The services continued through seven hours! At the next meeting of the church thirteen other members expressed a desire to be immersed. They were, therefore, baptized on a simple confession of faith in Jesus as the Son of God.

By faith in Christ was meant such a reception of the testimony concerning the Messianic claims of the Son of Mary as led to the belief that he is *the* Son of God, and the Saviour of lost men; and this again to a simple, unreserved, hearty trust in him as willing to save sinners. Paul said, "I know him whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that he is able to guard that which I have committed to him against that day." This is saving faith. "The faith that saves is a believing *on* or *into* Christ; a receiving Christ himself; a trusting in Christ, in all the grandeur of his personal character, and in all the glory of his official relations as Prophet, Priest, and King." "The

. the answer was, 'Who is he, Lord, that I m
iim?'" Alexander Campbell, in a discourse
ie early part of the year 1811, took the positic
ı by which the soul is saved is a "trusting in
arty reliance on him for salvation." Thom
about the time of his immersion said:
It is not a theory, but a believing experie
er of the truth in our own hearts, that will
er to live or preach the gospel of a free, unc
ation through faith; and we may as well l
h in December for the warming breeze to di
ry ice as to extract this believing experie
er of the truth out of the most refined and
ry about the nature and properties of faith, c
ion, or of any other point of the divine t
racted from the testimony itself, as exhibite
sed to us in the Scriptures. Let us once
vinced by this, that we may addict ourselves
ve, and preach our Bibles, and then shall we
and preach to profit."
homas Campbell had no thought in the be
great movement in behalf of Christian unio
in faith and in life to the religion of our L
ed in the New Testament that he would ab

Christ, and this solemn and fixed determination produced the change in his belief and practice here recorded.

The fact that the immersion of penitent believers on a confession of faith in Jesus as the Son of God and the Saviour of men had been accepted by the Campbells and their coöperants in the work of reform as *the* one baptism taught in the New Testament, at once destroyed the feeble bond of sympathy which yet remained between them and the Pedobaptists. Nor did this change at once place the reformers in living sympathy with the Baptists as Baptists *then* taught and practiced. To all who desired to

pressed" the Brush Run church "to join their Redstone Association." There were, however, from the point of view occupied by the Campbells, some objections to such a union.

In the first place, and chiefly, "the churches composing the association had adopted the Confession of Faith set forth by a Baptist association at Philadelphia, September 25, 1747, and which contained a fair proportion of the unscriptural theories and speculations usually found in such standards." And in the second place, as has been said, "immersion itself was not to the church at Brush Run precisely what it was to the Baptist Church. To the latter it was *merely a commandment*—a sort of front door by which regularity and good order required people to enter the church. With the former it was a *discovery* which had the effect of readjusting all their ideas of the Christian institution. It was to them the primitive confession of Christ, and a gracious token of salvation." ("Memoirs of Alexander Campbell," vol. i., p. 437.)

In 1848 Alexander Campbell said that at the time of

to write out a full view of our sentiments, wishes, and determinations on that subject. We did so in some eight or ten pages of large dimensions, exhibiting our remonstrance against all human creeds as bonds of communion or union amongst Christian churches, and expressing a willingness, upon certain conditions, to coöperate, or to unite with that association, provided always that we should be allowed to teach and preach whatever we learned from the Holy Scriptures regardless of any creed or formula in Christendom. . . . This proposition was discussed at the association, and, after much debate, was decided by a considerable majority in favor of our being received. Thus a union was formed" with the Baptists. ("Millennial Harbinger," series iii., vol. v., pp. 346, 347.)

Thomas Campbell warmly approved of the union of the Brush Run church with the Baptist denomination, since it removed from him and the little congregation the odium of forming a new religious body, and so adding to the lamentable divisions already existing in the church for which Jesus laid down his life. Peace with his brethren, not war, was his aim.

Of Baptists who were opposed to the reception of the Brush Run church was Elder Pritchard. In 1816 the association met with his church. When a desire was expressed that Alexander Campbell should deliver one of

f Mr. Pritchard toward Mr. Campbell. At an
itchard was determined that Alexander Ca
not deliver a discourse before the Redstone
at its meeting in 1816. The name of a Mr.
erefore put in the place of that of Alexander
the preacher at a given hour. But Stone was
sudden illness, and Campbell was, after all,
preach. After much persuasion he consen
a discourse. Rumors were abroad concerni
oxy, so that there was the greatest anxiety a
t interest not only to see him, but to hear
hat might fall from his lips. Mr. Campbell
lowing account of an impromptu discourse de
me historic. He says:
t having a subject at command, I asked to
cond discourse. Elder Cox preceded me.
e of the occasion I was induced to draw a cle
n the law and the gospel, the old dispensati
w, Moses and Christ. This was my theme
had I got on the way than Elder Pritchard
the tent and called out two or three of the p
see a lady suddenly taken sick, and thus c
confusion in the audience. I could not unde
nally, they got composed, and I proceeded.

forthwith condemned before the people by a formal declaration from the stand, repudiating my discourse as 'not Baptist doctrine.' One of the elders said, 'Elder Pritchard, I am not yet prepared to say whether it be or be not Bible doctrine; but one thing I can say, were we to make such an annunciation, we would sacrifice ourselves and not Mr. Campbell.'"

And thus originated Alexander Campbell's "Sermon on the Law." The full text of the discourse is in the "Millennial Harbinger" for 1846; the text was Romans viii. 3: "For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh." The following is the outline:

"I. Endeavor to ascertain what ideas we are to attach to the phrase *the law*, in this and similar portions of the sacred Scriptures.

"II. Point out those things which *the law* could not accomplish.

"III. Demonstrate the reason why *the law* failed to accomplish those objects.

"IV. Illustrate how God has remedied those relative defects of *the law*.

"V. Deduce such conclusions from these premises as must obviously and necessarily present themselves to every unbiased and reflecting mind."

Many years afterward, looking back on the incidents preceding, accompanying, and following the "Sermon on the Law," Mr. Campbell said:

"I may, I presume, regard its existence as providential; and although long unwilling to believe it, I must now think that envy or jealousy, or some fleshly principle, rather than pure zeal for divine truth, instituted the cru-

ıs to the whole community."

It is more than probable that Alexander Campbell would ıve lived and died in the fellowship of the Baptist de-ɔmination but for the persecutions to which he was sub-cted on account of the sermon delivered before the Red-one Association in 1816. ("Millennial Harbinger," 1846, 493.)

An effort was made to bring Mr. Campbell to a trial for :resy based on this discourse, but it was not successful.

Thomas Campbell at this meeting of the association ·esented an application for admission from a small con-·egation of immersed believers in Pittsburg. The appli-ıtion was rejected because it was not accompanied, as ıe constitution of the association required, by a formal atement of theological opinions.

At the same meeting Thomas Campbell read the annual rcular letter which by appointment he had prepared. he item in the minutes referring to this matter reads ; follows: "The circular letter prepared by T. Campbell as read and accepted without amendment." The sub-ct treated in this letter was the doctrine of the Trinity, ıd a most remarkable feature of the production is the ct that the word Trinity is not used in any part of it. evertheless, the "circular letter" on the Trinity, "pre-ıred by Rev. T. Campbell, was read and accepted with-ıt amendment"! Mr. Campbell presented the nature ' our Lord and the mysterious relations of Father, Son, ıd Spirit to one another, as near as possible, in the lan-ıage of the Holy Scripture. He did it in such a spirit ıd manner as to be, so far as the records furnish evidence, together acceptable to the brethren present, notwith-anding their eagerness to discover heretical sentiments

the suggestion was made that at the meeting of the association, to be held in 1817, with the church at Peter's Creek, Alexander Campbell should be proceeded against on the ground of entertaining and promulgating heretical opinions, he expressed a readiness to defend, at once, his position, as expressed in the offensive discourse, against any and all attacks from any person or persons whomsoever. The question of proceeding against Mr. Campbell for heresy was dismissed on the ground that the association had no jurisdiction in the case.

It is interesting to look back to the meeting of the Redstone Association of Baptist Churches in 1816, and note its composition as we study its effort to maintain the true and, in that part of the world, *orthodox* conception of the gospel of the Son of God. Thirty-three churches were represented in the association. The aggregate membership was eleven hundred and thirty-nine, an average of a little more than thirty-four members to a church. No church in the association had a hundred members. Look, too, at the names of some of them: Peter's Creek, George's Creek, Turkey Foot, Forks of Cheat, Little Redstone, Maple Creek, Big Redstone, Indian Creek, Head of Whitely, Ten Mile, Forks of Yough, Horseshoe, Sandy Creek, Plumb Run, King's Creek, Dunkird Creek, Cross Creek, Short Creek, Pigeon Creek, Wells Creek, Flat Run, and Salt Creek!

Comment as to the fitness of such an association to determine the orthodoxy of Alexander Campbell, or any other gentleman of liberal culture, is not needed.

The Campbells were never expelled from any Baptist church nor from any association of Baptist churches. In the course of time life in the Redstone Association became so unpleasant that they voluntarily entered the Mahoning

Association. In 1827 this association adjourned, as such, *sine dine*, the majority believing that there is no warrant in Scripture for such organizations of churches. To this action Alexander Campbell was opposed. He thought that some such organization was needed, and that there was no reason why a specific " thus saith the Lord " should be required in a case of this character.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIAN UNION.

ONE of the most natural things in the world w
the people who had been taught and influenced r
ively by B. W. Stone and Alexander Campbell,
pally in the States of Kentucky and Virginia, shoul
together on the simple, practical, evangelical p
suggested and advocated by each.

An interesting correspondence between Messrs.
bell and Stone on the nature of Jesus, on the ato
for sin made by the Christ in his death, on the worl
Holy Spirit in conversion and sanctification, and
doctrine of baptism for the remission of sins, res
such an agreement that a union was consummated i
ington, Ky., in the early part of the year 1832.

A careful and impartial study of this happy even
that it was not the result of an entire agreement in
of exegesis, interpretation, theology, nor dogma, bu
was an agreement in these things only in such a deg
the parties to the union were able to coöperate hea
preaching the gospel to the unevangelized. There
difficulty in coming to an agreement as to the fund
facts, the great underlying truths, the comman
promises, and the warnings of the gospel of the
God. There was an agreement to present these
to the people, urging them at the same time by
mediate and unconditional surrender of heart anc
the Christ to begin to live with reference to him.

.he Lord Jesus.

The friends of Campbell were currently knc 'ormers, while those who were more especially nfluence of Stone were popularly designated as To increase and make more perfect and perr ınion, a joint editorial supervision was tak ' Christian Messenger," a paper which had been ɔy and conducted in the interests of the Reforr

There were many little differences to adjus :hese communities, of which it is not necessar 'urther than to say that the devotion of all t Jesus was so sincere and hearty that these ı :ime passed, gradually settled themselves in a s nanner.

The name may, however, be mentioned as o: :opics. Mr. Stone favored the name Christian; ɔell preferred the name Disciple. Stone and naintained that the name Christian was given, ginning, by divine authority. This Mr. Campb 'riends denied. They also preferred, as less c good people, and quite as Scriptural, to say tl .he name Christian, the name Disciple. But ı ons were not permitted to disturb the fellowsh :hildren of God. And so it has come to pas

ally, however, the legal title of any local church is simply the Church of Christ at such a place.

In this union there were mutual pledges to meet on the Bible as common ground, and to preach only, in the evangelization of men, the simple and obvious truths, facts, commands, promises, and warnings of the gospel. The friends of Stone did not join Alexander Campbell as their leader, nor did the brethren of Campbell join B. W. Stone, but, all having taken Jesus as their leader, became one body—not Stoneites, nor Campbellites, but simply and only Christians, Disciples of Christ, saints, brethren, children of God. And why may not similar results be brought about between other people?

As still further illustrating the spirit and character of this union, read the following address, delivered at the time of the consummation of the union by the Rev. John Smith.

"God has," said Mr. Smith, "but one people on earth. He has given to them but one Book, and therein exhorts and commands them to be one family. A union such as we plead for—a union of God's people on that one Book—must then be practicable.

"Every Christian desires to stand complete in the whole will of God. The prayer of the Saviour and the whole tenor of his teaching clearly show that it is God's will that his children should be united. To a Christian, then, such a union must be desirable.

"But an amalgamation of sects is not such a union as Christ prayed for and God enjoins. To agree to be one upon any system of man's invention would be contrary to his will, and could never be a blessing to the church or the world. Therefore the only union practicable or desirable must be based on the Word of God as the only rule of faith and practice.

atonement—that ...
ussion among Christians. ...
n being settled now as they were in the
controversy. By a needless and intem-
of them much feeling has been provoked,
e been produced.

years past I have tried to speak on such
the language of inspiration, for it can
say about those things just what the Lord
id. In this Scriptural style of speech all
uld be agreed. It cannot be wrong—it can
If I come to the passage, 'My Father is
I,' I will quote it, but will not stop to specu-
e inferiority of the Son. If I read, 'Being in
God he thought it not robbery to be equal
I will not stop to speculate upon the consub-
ture of the Father and the Son. I will not
build a theory on such texts, and thus encourage
tive and wrangling spirit among my brethren.
esent these subjects only in the words which th
as given to me; I know that he will not be di
if we say just what he has said. Whatever opi
out these and similar subjects I may have reach
my investigations, if I never distract
seek to impose them on
harm.

do not constitute, singly or together, any item of the ancient apostolic gospel.

"While there is but one faith, there may be ten thousand opinions; and hence if Christians are ever to be one they must be one in faith and not in opinion. When certain subjects arise even in conversation or social discussion to which there is a contrariety of opinion and sensitiveness of feeling, speak of them in the words of the Scriptures and no offense will be given and no pride of doctrine will be encouraged. We may even come in the end, by thus speaking the same things, to think the same things.

"For several years past I have stood pledged to meet the religious world, or any part of it, in the ancient gospel and order of things as presented in the words of the Book. This is the foundation on which Christians once stood, and on it they can and ought to stand again. From this I cannot depart to meet any man or set of men in the wide world. While for the sake of peace and Christian union I have long since waived the public maintenance of any speculation I may hold, yet not one gospel fact, commandment, or promise will I surrender for the world.

"Let us then, my brethren, be no longer Campbellites or Stoneites, New Lights or Old Lights, or any other kind of Lights, but let us all come to the Bible, and to the Bible alone, as the only book in the world that can give us the light we need." ("Life of Elder John Smith," by John Augustus Williams, pp. 452–454.)

At the close of this address B. W. Stone arose and said:

"I will not attempt to introduce any new topic, but will say a few things on the subjects already presented by my beloved brother.

"The controversies of the church sufficiently prove that Christians never can be one in their speculations upon

AN AGREEMENT REACHED.

sympathetic attention to every proposition looking to the reunion of Christendom. Frequent conferences, more or less formal, looking to such an adjustment of differences between them and their Baptist brethren as will enable them to coöperate in giving the word of life to those who are dead in sins have been held. Nor is there reason to doubt that there is between Baptists and Disciples an increasing desire for such a union, with a growing probability that sooner or later such a result will be secured. This expectation is entertained, not because we are good enough or wise enough to bring it to pass, but because it is the will of God, and he will bring it to pass. And there will be a much more extensive union for this beneficent work, the preaching of the gospel to the whole creation. There is not a word in the New Testament on the subject of church union, but there is much about Christian union.

Believers are exhorted in the New Testament to "endeavor to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." (Eph. iv. 3.) Those who are called saints are told to "mark" those who "cause divisions and offenses contrary to the doctrine of Christ," and "avoid them." (Rom. xvi. 17, 18.) Members of the Church of God are exhorted to speak the same things and to be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment. (1 Cor. i. 10.) Divisions among those who call on the name of Jesus Christ our Lord are evidences of remaining among those who ought in all things to be led by the Spirit of God. (Rom. viii. 14; 1 Cor. iii. 1–4.) The Christ prayed that his personal friends and followers might be united as the Father and the Son are one. (John xvii. 11.) And this prayer was answered, for we read that after the departure of our Lord for heaven his friends returned from the place of the ascension to an upper room in Jerusalem, where they "continued with one accord in prayer and supplication"

claiming at length, " Men, brethren, what shal

The Christ also prayed for those who woul him through the testimony of those whom h be his witnesses, " both in Jerusalem, and i and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part c (Acts i. 8), that they might " be one, as thou in me, and I in thee, that they also may be on the world may believe that thou hast sent xvii. 20, 21.) And this prayer also received the apostolic age, for we read that " the m those who " believed " on Jesus as the Mess salem " were of one heart and of one soul " (and that as a result of this unity " a great con priests were obedient to the faith." (Acts Holy Spirit places sectarianism in a list wi fornication, uncleanness, licentiousness, idola enmity, strife, jealousy, contention, envy, drunkenness. (Gal. v. 20.) All these thing the flesh and are opposed to the Spirit. On t " the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, l kindness, goodness, faith, meekness, and s (Gal. v. 22, 23.)

There can be no reasonable doubt as to t the Head of the Body, Jesus Christ our Lord, co

Episcopal Church looking toward the reunion of Christendom. The facts are as follows:

In the year 1853 the bishops of the Episcopal Church appointed a commission to confer with the Christian bodies in the United States which were desirous of promoting union and concord among all who love our Lord Jesus in sincerity and truth. This commission did formally set forth and advocate sundry suggestions and recommendations intended to accomplish the great end in view. In 1880 the bishops set forth a declaration to the effect that in virtue of what they were pleased to characterize as "the solidarity of the Catholic Episcopate," "it was the right and duty of the episcopates of all national churches holding the primitive faith and order to protect in the holding of that faith and the recovering of that order those who had been wrongfully deprived of both." The special reference was to Christians in foreign countries who are struggling to set themselves free from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome. In view of these things, and also in view of the fact that "many of the faithful in Christ Jesus are praying with renewed and increasing earnestness that some measure may be adopted at this time for the reunion of the sundered parts of Christendom," the following declaration was published to the world:

"The bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America in council assembled, as bishops in the Church of God, do hereby solemnly declare to all whom it may concern, and especially to our fellow-Christians of the different communions in this land, who, in their several spheres, have contended for the religion of

"(2) That we believe that all who have been
tized with water in the name of the Father, a
Son, and of the Holy Ghost are members of

the Lord, ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by him;

"(4) The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the

by a unanimous vote:

"'Your committee, to whom was referred nication of the secretary of the commission unity, appointed by the General Convention of ant Episcopal Church, October 27, 1886, beg l mit the following reply to said communicatior

"'"*Rev. Herman C. Duncan, Secretary of Co Christian Unity of the General Convention of ant Episcopal Church:*

"'"DEAR SIR: Your communication, add General Christian Missionary Convention thro fitt, its corresponding secretary, was by him lai convention, at its annual meeting in Indianap 20, 1887. After due consideration the followi was unanimously agreed to, which you will pl to your honorable commission, with assurance dial approval of their noble aim:

"'"Having carefully, and with deep interes the 'Declaration of the House of Bishops of th Episcopal Church, adopted October 20, 1886,' fully and affectionately submit the result of c tions. In doing this it is proper to say that Christian Missionary Convention is impressed

While there is a broad Christian fellowship of faith and love among all these churches, and organized coöperation alike of individuals and of churches, in districts, States, and nation, for missionary, educational, and other benevolent and charitable purposes, there is no central ecclesiastical organization having control of questions of doctrine and discipline, and no possibility, therefore, of an authoritative response to your Declaration. But, as this convention is composed of members from all the States and Territories in which we have churches, and of members of these churches, embracing a fair share of the intelligence, experience, and wisdom of their membership, this unanimous expression of sentiment on the part of this convention may be safely regarded as the most trustworthy utterance obtainable of the convictions of the entire brotherhood in the United States known as Christians, or Disciples of Christ. We have the fullest confidence that it will be generally approved.

"'"Allow us, therefore, to say:

"'"I. You may infer with what lively interest and admiration we regard the Declaration of your House of Bishops when we state that, in so far as our religious movement is distinctive, its original differentiation from all other religious movements of the time was the condemnation of the sect spirit and of sectarian organizations as unscriptural, sinful, and fruitful of mischief, and the advocacy of a return to the unity, catholicity, simplicity, and spirituality of the faith and practice of the churches of apostolic times; a return, in other words, to New Testament teaching. This movement, which took on, in 1809, the public form of a voluntary Christian Association, finally developed into the organization of churches seeking to restore, as it was then expressed, 'in letter and in spirit, in principle and in practice,' the faith and discipline of apos-

ıes. They were known simply as 'Churches of
These organizations were formed not because
entering into them desired a separation from the
ıastical communions with which they had been asso-
ı, but because the narrow and bitter sectarian spirit
prevailing forbade all utterance of such antisectarian
ıments and all promotion of such antisectarian aims
ıin their respective pales. These churches have in-
ased until they now number, in the United States,
out eight hundred thousand communicants, and to-day
ıere sounds out from them all, with no diminution of
arnestness or emphasis, the same condemnation of secta-
rian parties, sectarian creeds, sectarian names, sectarian
aims, and the same entreaty for the return of all believers
to the unity of faith and catholicity of spirit taught, fos-
tered, and defended by the apostles of Jesus Christ. We
cannot, therefore, do otherwise than hail with gladness the
Declaration of your 'desire and readiness, so soon as there
shall be any authorized response to this Declaration, to
enter into brotherly conference with all or any Christian
bodies seeking the restoration of the organic unity of the
church with a view to the earnest study of the condition
under which so priceless a blessing might happily be brougl
to pass.' We are especially glad that this overture com
from the Protestant Episcopal Church. Eminently co
servative as that church is known to be, its leadership
such a movement is evidence that the religious sentin
this country in behalf of Christian unity is deep
the cautious proceedings of thirty-
Declaration and the appoin
ably the re

the divided branches of Christendom,' we do most heartily approve the proposal for 'brotherly conference . . . with a view to the earnest study of the conditions under which the desired unity may be brought to pass.'

"'"II. The frankness and candor with which you express your understanding of 'the principles of unity' is, in our view, as admirable as the kind spirit in which you invite us to brotherly conference. While it would be manifestly premature to enter, at present, on a discussion of these principles, we deem it altogether proper to imitate your frankness in simply *stating*, in the light of the investigations and experiences of three quarters of a century, what we deem essential to Christian unity.

"'"I. We heartily concur in your statement of the first essential to the restoration of unity—the recognition of 'the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the revealed Word of God.' In the language of the Westminster Confession of Faith: 'The whole counsel of God, concerning all things necessary for his own glory, man's salvation, faith, and life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and *necessary* consequence may be deduced from Scripture, unto which nothing is at any time to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit or traditions of men.' And 'though all things in Scripture are not alike plain in themselves nor alike clear unto all, yet those things which are necessary to be known, believed, and observed for salvation are so clearly propounded and opened in some place of Scripture or other, that not only the learned, but the unlearned, in a due use of ordinary means, may attain unto a sufficient understanding of them.'

"'"The Holy Scriptures are the only *catholic* rule of faith and discipline. On no other platform can the scattered hosts of spiritual Israel be restored to unity. The

fied by the undivided Catholic Church *during the first age of its existence,*' will not be accepted by the various 'divide branches of Christendom' as *essential* to Christian unity or as binding on the conscience. Nothing less authorita tive than a *thus saith the Lord* will be universally recog nized as *essential* to Christian unity or as binding on th conscience. The history of the early Christian centurie may have a universally admitted value as illustrating o confirming Scripture; but as *essential* to union in Chris no historical teaching outside of the inspired books wil be universally, or even generally, accepted by the divide branches of Christendom. For instance: if parochial o diocesan episcopacy, or an order of priesthood in th church other than that 'royal priesthood' which belong to all believers, is set forth in the New Testament Script ures as of divine authority, then *collateral* evidence o such forms of episcopal government and such order o priesthood may be brought from the history of 'the undi vided Catholic Church during the first ages of its exist ence;' and such testimony of a 'Historic Episcopate would doubtless be allowed to have its just weight. Bu a basis of union involving anything as essential other tha what is contained in the revealed Word of God we regar as utterly impracticable.

"'" What we have said of the testimony of the earl Christian centuries may also be said of what is styled th Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and all other huma creeds. Nothing less authoritative than God's Wor should be regarded as beyond the reach of 'compromis or surrender.' 'Hold fast the form of sound words whic thou hast heard of me,' said the inspired Paul to Timothy No form of uninspired words, however admirable in th estimation of multitudes, can be insisted on as beyon 'compromise or surrender,' without placing an insuperabl

divided branches of Christendom.' If any 'statement of the Christian faith' should at any time be deemed necessary, not as a bond of fellowship, but for public information or to condemn prevalent errors, we respectfully submit that Christians of to-day can put such statement in a form much better suited to the people of this generation than the Nicene formula, which had birth out of the controversies of that time, and came into being under conditions which not only do not now exist, but which are not so much as known to the great majority of professed Christians of the present time.

"'" 2. The restoration of unity demands a return to New Testament teaching. We may not presume to improve on the ideas of unity and catholicity taught by inspiration. We ought to improve on the *practice* of the apostolic churches, being made wiser by their errors and by the apostolic rebukes which those errors called forth; but in our conceptions of spiritual unity and ecclesiastical union, of catholicity, and of all that is to be insisted on as essential to Christian fellowship and 'incapable of compromise or surrender,' we must be guided solely by the teaching of Jesus Christ and his apostles.

"'" Coming, then, to the New Testament, to the 'pure river of water of life, bright as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb,' before it was contaminated by the muddy streams of human doctrine and tradition, what do we find?

"'" (1) That the original, inspired creed—that and that alone which was required to be believed and confessed by all who sought membership in the Church of God—had but one article, viz., 'JESUS IS THE CHRIST, THE SON OF THE LIVING GOD.' That which justified and saved, and held all the saved in one blessed fellowship, was not assent

o a system of doctrines, a formulation of speculative opinons and theories, or a form of church government, but aith in Jesus the Messiah, the Son of God; faith in a divine person, love of a divine person, absolute and entire personal surrender and committal, in conscience, heart, and life, to a divine person—this was the requirement, the only requirement, laid on those who sought salvation and entrance into the fellowship of Christians. This is a *divine* creed, which can be neither compromised nor surrendered. Everything that is not legitimately involved in this one article of faith concerning the Christhood and divinity of Jesus, as a test of fitness, on the score of faith, for admission to membership in the church, not only may be, but ought to be, surrendered.

"'" (2) That all who confessed this faith in the Lord Jesus were admitted to Christian fellowship by an immersion in water into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. And only such were admitted. We would say, therefore, that those who thus accepted Jesus as their Lord and Saviour, and were thus immersed, were, in the apostolic age, members of the Church of God; or, to use the language of the Declaration, 'members of the Holy Catholic Church.' The church of apostolic times acknowledged 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism'; and these were among the *essentials* of Christian unity.

"'" (3) That those who were thus added to the church were continued in fellowship *so long as they walked in the commandments of Jesus.* Obedience to the Lord Jesus—in other words, *Christian character*—was the test of fellowship in the church. If any one denied the Lord that bought him, or refused to honor him by obedience to his commandments, he was to be condemned as unworthy of Christian fellowship. But so long as one cherished faith in the Son of God and kept his commandments, he was

entitled to a place among the children of God. If he was *right concerning Christ*, though he might be wrong about many things, it was presumed that Christ would bring him right about everything essential to spiritual life and enjoyment. And if he was not right as to his faith in and obedience to Christ, however free from error in other respects, his unbelief and disobedience formed an insurmountable barrier to the fellowship of Christians.

"'" It will be seen that this is *catholic* ground. 'The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the revealed Word of God' is catholic. This cannot be said of any creed of human compilation.

"'" Faith in Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God, is catholic. It is the faith of all who accept the Old and New Testaments as the revealed Word of God.

"'" The immersion of believers into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit is catholic. No one disputes that the believer is a proper subject of baptism, while there is serious and widespread controversy over the admission of infants to that ordinance. All admit that the immersion of a proper subject is valid baptism, while there is endless controversy over sprinkling and pouring.

"'" Disciples of Christ, Christians, Church of God, Churches of Christ—these are catholic. All evangelical parties claim these designations, and complain of any exclusive appropriation of them; while Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, etc., are party names which can never be universally approved.

"'" Here, then, we stand on unsectarian ground, where, it seems, if anywhere, we find the *essential* principles of Christian unity, which cannot be compromised or surrendered.

"'" III. Outside of that which is essential to Christian

and to allow such preferences to stand in the way of Christian union, would be to assume the tremendous responsibility of exalting the human to an equality with the divine. May we not say that it would be to make the Word of God of none effect by human traditions and usages? If 'the spirit of love and humility' prevail, this declaration of the Protestant Episcopal Church will receive unstinted approval from all who aim to 'keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.' Yet it is just here that we fear. It is so easy to mistake attachment to mere usages for a conscientious adherence to God's will, that there is more danger of disagreement in things not taught in the Scriptures than in the things that are taught therein.

"'"IV. There remains one item in the Declaration too important to be passed without notice: 'That this church does not seek to absorb other communions, but rather, coöperating with them on the basis of a common faith and order, to discountenance schism, to heal the wounds of the body of Christ, and to promote the charity which is the chief of Christian graces and the visible manifestation of Christ to the world.' As we understand it, this is a gratifying declaration. We do not regard it as looking toward a theological and ecclesiastical eclecticism or syncretism, by which the various denominational systems of doctrine and of church government shall be perpetuated in whole or in part, under some nebulous scheme or vague profession of Christian unity; but simply as a frank disavowal of selfish aims. This is alike manly and just. It exhibits the only spirit in which it is possible to 'discountenance schism and heal the wounds of the body of Christ.' Not what will promote the interests of any denomination, but what will serve the purposes and promote the welfare of the 'one body' of Christ, is to be sought. All other communions should adopt this sentiment as their own, as a

posal to 'enter into brotherly conference with
Christian bodies seeking the restoration of th
unity of the church with a view to the earnes
the conditions under which so priceless a bless
happily be brought to pass.'

"'"We respectfully submit this answer to yo
ration, with humble reliance on the Head of t
that we may be delivered from pride and prej
be led into all the truth, so that all may speak
things, and that there may be no divisions amo
that we may be perfected together in the same
in the same judgment—thus realizing and ful
prayer of our blessed Lord and Saviour in be
who believe in him: 'That they all may be one
Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they als
one in us: that the world may believe that thou
me.'"'"

This report was signed by the members of th
tee, as follows:

"ISAAC ERRETT, editor of 'Christian Stand
cinnati, O.

"J. W. MCGARVEY, editor of 'Apostolic G
Professor of Sacred History and Evidences in t
of the Bible, Lexington, Ky.

"B. J. RADFORD, formerly president of Eureka College, Eureka, Ill.

"C. L. LOOS, president of Kentucky University, Lexington, Ky.

"A. R. BENTON, president of Butler University, Irving-

freely participate; the Evangelical Alliance c
States, with its encouragement of coöperatio
the vast and rapidly increasing population
with the life-giving truths of the glorious g
blessed God, making necessary, and bringing i
important conferences in Washington, Bost
great centers of influence, to prayerfully con
topics relating to the one end—ought certain
tioned, in this report, under the head of enco
cations. And what shall we say when we c
of the meaning of almost two millions of pe
sexes, and all ages and conditions, bande
225,000 in Young Men's Christian Associati
in the Women's Christian Temperance Uni
Chautauqua Circles, 200,000 in King's Daug
and 1,078,980 in more than sixteen thousan
Christian Endeavors—an aggregate of 1,639,
shall we say but that these are a few of th
indications of a desire among those who pro
themselves Christians for a more perfect unio
approaching answer in our day to the prayer
Lord that all who would believe on him, throu
of his apostles, might be one as he and the Fa
Not only is the sentiment in favor of unity an

attention is called to the manifold evils of sectarianism, setting forth at the same time the pressing importance of such a union as will lead the world to believe in Jesus as the Son of God and the Saviour of the lost.

"II. There are four principal bases of union before the people for their acceptance or rejection, which may be characterized as 'submission,' 'confederation,' 'consolidation,' and 'restoration.'

"1. The first-named is the Roman Catholic plan of union. It is exceedingly simple. The scheme involves the unconditional surrender of all to one.

"2. The second plan of union has its principal advocates among our brethren of the Presbyterian faith. The scheme of confederation contemplates, for purposes of work in turning the world to Christ, the preservation of denominational organization and identity, each organized body of Christians standing on terms of equality with all other denominations, but all entering into formal counsel with the others in regard to all interests held in common. It may be sufficient to say by this plan in this connection that while it is complex and difficult to handle, it seems to us to be a step in the right direction.

"3. The third is the plan proposed by the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, in 1886, and indorsed by the Lambeth Conference, in London, in 1888. This quadrangular basis of union is placed before Christendom in the words following:

"'(1) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as "containing all things necessary to salvation," and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith;

"'(2) The Apostles' Creed as being the baptismal symbol, and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement, of the Christian faith;

baptism and the Supper of the Lord—ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by him;

"'(4) The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of his church.'

"An eloquent advocate of this plan, in speaking of it lately, used the word 'consolidation' as properly describing it. He explained that the scheme contemplates the consolidation under one self-consistent and well-understood system of polity and doctrine, with ample constitutional guarantees for a permitted diversity in the methods of worship and of work.

"It may be sufficient to say of this plan in passing that our divine Lord did not pray for a consolidation of denominations as such, nor for church union, but for a union of all who would believe on him through the ministry of his elect apostles.

"4. The fourth plan of union proposed contemplates a return in faith and in life, in doctrine and in spirit, to the religion of the Son of God as correctly and authoritatively outlined and placed before all men on the pages of the New Testament.

"The founder of the church was God, manifest in the flesh in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. He gave men in person, when he was on earth, and through his chosen apostles, whom he inspired by the Holy Spirit after his return to heaven, just such a religion as pleased him, and is best for man in all places and in all times.

"Protestantism affirms the infallibility of sacred Scripture. The fathers of the Reformation of the sixteenth century affirm that in religion there is no better certainty than the teaching of the Bible. The Westminster Assem-

Affusion, as a mode of baptism, is in dispute; immersion, as baptism, is not in controversy. The way to peace at this point is clear.

"In the Lord's Supper the Christ appointed the use of bread and the fruit of the vine to symbolize to his disciples through the ages his body broken and his blood poured out for the sins of the whole world.

"The life of the Christian is to be lived with a continual reference to the man Christ Jesus. To be a Christian is to drink in his spirit of love and loyalty, reproducing in our associations with men, as far as possible, aided by divine grace, the life of our Lord Jesus Christ. He is the standard of right living, both Godward and manward.

"This, in brief, is the basis on which we, who desire to be known as Disciples of Christ, or as simply Christians, believe that the church of the living God may be so visibly united as to move on compactly to the conquest of the world.

"There is a necessity for the exercise of a large charity toward all who profess and call themselves Christians, while maintaining an unswerving loyalty in all things to the Head of the body—Christ Jesus the Lord. In matters of human ordering or human choice, relating to modes of worship and discipline or to traditional customs, we are ready, in the spirit of love and humility, to forego all preferences of our own to secure the union for which the Son of God so fervently prayed.

"Finally, realizing, as we think we do, the hindrance to the successful evangelization of the nations in obedience to our Lord's final command, occasioned by our denominational divisions, we hereby declare our desire to enter into fraternal conference with our brethren from whom we are separated by denominational differences, with a view to the earnest study of the conditions under which a more

manifest union among the people of God may be brought about.

"And now may the God of peace, who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great and good Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make us perfect in every good work to do his will, working in us that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen."

On motion, the report was adopted and the committee continued, Jabez Hall leading the convention in prayer for union.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CREED QUESTION.

ONE of the earliest points discussed was the expediency of humanly devised creeds as tests of fellowship and bonds of union among Christians, the Disciples maintaining that such creeds as bonds of union and terms of communion are necessarily heretical and schismatical. This was one of Mr. Campbell's affirmations in his debate with Mr. Rice in Lexington, Ky., in the year 1843.

The word "authoritative" is an important word, and is to be borne continually in mind in any attempt to understand the position of the Disciples on the creed question. Their objection was and is to authoritative human creeds. That is to say, they object to creeds of this character as conditions of Christian and church fellowship. "By an authoritative creed is meant an abstract of human opinions concerning the supposed cardinal articles of Christian faith, which summary is made a bond of union or term of communion." ("Millennial Harbinger" for 1832, p. 344.)

The Disciples do not object to publishing what they understand to be the teaching of Holy Scripture on any subject of faith or duty as a matter of information. They protest only against using such statement as a condition of fellowship.

In an early period of the discussion attention was called to the fact that Unitarians, for example, warred against human creeds because those creeds supported Trinitarian-

nder Campbell declared that next to personal
n two objects constituted the *summum bonum*, or
e good: the first was the union, peace, purity, and
nious coöperation of Christians, guided by an under-
ng enlightened by the Holy Scriptures; and second,
onversion of sinners to God. He said that his predi-
ons and antipathies on all religious questions arose
and were controlled by these all-absorbing interests.
m these commenced his campaign against creeds as
ve defined. He said that he was always willing to
e a declaration of his faith and knowledge of the Chris-
n system, but that he firmly protested against propound-
g dogmatically his own views or those of any fallible
nortal as a condition or foundation of church union or co-
operation. ("Christian System," p. 9.)

While he and the Disciples generally were and are en-
tirely willing, either with the tongue or by the pen, to pro-
claim to the ends of the earth all that they know concern-
ing the gospel and the religion of Jesus, they have always
desired, and desire now, to have it distinctly understood
that they take the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but
the Bible, as the foundation of all Christian union and
communion.

As to the readiness of the Disciples to make such a
publication, attention is called to the fact that in 1846 (see
"Millennial Harbinger" for 1846, p. 385) Mr. Campbell
published the following eight propositions as embodying
his theological beliefs:

"1. I believe that all Scripture given by inspiration
God is profitable for teaching, for conviction, for corre
tion, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of G
may be perfect, and thoroughly accomplished for eve
work. in one God, as manifested in the perso

the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit—who are, therefore, one in nature, power, and volition.

"3. I believe that every human being participates in all the consequences of the fall of Adam, and is born into the world frail and depraved in all his moral powers and capacities, so that without faith in Christ it is impossible for him, while in that state, to please God.

"4. I believe that the WORD, which from the beginning was *with God*, and which *was God*, became flesh, and dwelt among us as *Emmanuel*, or "*God manifest in the flesh*," and did make an *expiation of sin* "by the sacrifice of himself," which no being could have done that was not possessed of a superhuman, superangelic, and divine nature.

"5. I believe in the justification of a sinner by faith, without the deeds of law; and of a Christian, not by faith alone, but by the obedience of faith.

"6. I believe in the operation of the Holy Spirit through the Word, but not without it, in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner.

"7. I believe in 'the right and duty of exercising our own judgment in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.'

"8. I believe in 'the divine institution of the evangelical ministry; the authority and perpetuity of the institution of baptism and the Lord's Supper.'"

In "Our Position," a tract by Isaac Errett, which is extensively circulated by the Disciples as setting forth their position, the following thirteen items of evangelical belief are named:

"1. The divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures of the

"4. The divine excellency and worthiness of Jesus as he Son of God; his perfect humanity as the Son of man; nd his official authority and glory as the Christ—the Anointed Prophet, Priest, and King, who is to instruct us n the way of life, redeem us from sin and death, and reign n and over us as the rightful Sovereign of our being and Disposer of our destiny. We accept, therefore, in good aith, the supernatural religion presented to us in the New Testament, embracing in its revelations:

"(1) The incarnation of the Logos—the eternal Word f God—in the person of Jesus of Nazareth.

"(2) The life and teachings of this divinely anointed Lord and Saviour, as the highest and completest unfolding of the divine character and purposes, as they relate to ur sinful and perishing race, and as an end of controversy ouching all questions of salvation, duty, and destiny.

"(3) The death of Jesus as a sin-offering, bringing us edemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins.

"(4) His resurrection from the dead, abolishing death nd bringing life and immortality clearly to light.

"(5) His ascension to heaven and glorification in the eavens, where he ever liveth, the Mediator between God nd men; our great High-priest to intercede for his people; and our King, to rule until his foes are all subdued nd all the sublime purposes of his mediatorial reign are ccomplished.

"(6) His supreme authority as Lord of all.

Spirit to convict the world of sin, righteousness, and judgment, and to dwell in believers as their Comforter, Strengthener, and Sanctifier.

"6. The alienation of the race from God, and their entire dependence on the truth, mercy, and grace of God, as manifested in Jesus the Christ, and revealed and confirmed to us by the Holy Spirit in the gospel, for regeneration, sanctification, adoption, and life eternal.

"7. The necessity of faith and repentance in order to the enjoyment of salvation here, and of a life of obedience in order to the attainment of everlasting life.

"8. The perpetuity of baptism and the Lord's Supper, as divine ordinances, through all ages, to the end of time.

"9. The obligation to observe the first day of the week as the Lord's day, in commemoration of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, by acts of worship such as the New Testament teaches, and by spiritual culture such as befits this memorial day.

"10. The Church of Christ, a divine institution, composed of such as, by faith and baptism, have openly confessed the name of Christ; with its appointed rulers, ministers, and services, for the edification of Christians and the conversion of the world.

"11. The necessity of righteousness, benevolence, and holiness on the part of professed Christians, alike in view of their own final salvation and of their mission to turn the world to God.

"12. The fullness and freeness of the salvation offered in the gospel to all who accept it on the terms proposed.

"13. The final punishment of the ungodly by an everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his power."

A prominent writer among the Disciples has been quoted

as saying: "We take the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible, as the foundation of all Christian union and communion." ("Christian System," preface to the second edition.)

It has also been said that the Disciples inscribed on their banner the following motto: "Faith in Jesus as the true Messiah, and obedience to him as our Lawgiver and King, the only test," etc.

If the question is as to the book by which a church is to be guided or ought to be guided, the language quoted can easily be defended. The Bible is the book. This was the doctrine of the Reformers of the sixteenth century. This is the true Protestant position. In the controversy with Rome at the time of the Reformation one chief issue was an infallible church or an infallible book—which? Romanists said an infallible church; Protestants, an infallible book. Chillingworth, a champion of the Protestant faith of the sixteenth century, is the author of the famous aphorism, "The Bible, the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants." When Chillingworth said that he was comparing the unity of the Bible teaching with the lack of unity in the doctrine of Bellarmine or Baronius, in the doctrine of the Sarbonne or of the Jesuits or Dominicans. He said that Rome furnished no safe guide since popes in faith and in doctrine were arrayed against popes, councils were against councils, fathers against fathers, and the church of one age against the church of another age. As the way out of this confusion the Protestants said that the Bible, and the Bible alone, contained their religion.

So when it is said by the Disciples, "The Bible is our creed," the statement is made with the various books of human and uninspired composition, written to aid in the preservation of faith and government of the church, in mind.

The Bible is the creed of the Disciples, not the Confession of Faith framed by the Westminster Assembly of divines.

The Bible is the creed of the Disciples, not the articles of religion of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The Bible is the rule of faith of the Disciples, not the book of discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

This is the contrast and connection in which the Disciples desire to be understood as affirming that the Bible is their creed. As a comparative statement it is true; as an absolute statement it is not altogether correct.

The Disciples maintain that the original creed of Christianity contained but a single article, namely, "Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God," and that all doctrinal tests but this must be abandoned. With them faith in Jesus as the divine Lord and Saviour is the one essential condition of baptism and church fellowship. Jesus said expressly that on this creed he would build his church. (Matt. xvi. 18.)

This was the basis of the Church of Christ in Jerusalem, in Antioch, in Ephesus, in Corinth, in Philippi, in Thessalonica, in Berea, and in every place where the inspired apostles preached the gospel and planted churches. This creed was sufficient then—is sufficient now. Not the belief of theological dogmas, however true, but faith in Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God, is the faith that saves the soul. With the Disciples this statement concerning the nature and official character of the Son of man is not merely *an* article of Christian faith standing on a level with other articles of belief, but it is *the* article of the Christian faith, *the* creed of the church.

"Dost thou believe on the Son of God?" (John ix. 35.) "If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest" (Acts

ist to the treasurer of Queen Candace. To every person, therefore, who applies for membership in a church of Disciples the questions are, "Do you believe in your heart that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God? Do you take him to be your Saviour? Do you desire to obey him?"

These exact words, it may be, are not always employed, but always and everywhere the candidate for baptism and church-membership is asked concerning his faith in and his purpose toward Jesus, and nothing else. "What think ye of Christ? whose Son is he?" (Matt. xxii. 42) was our Lord's test of orthodoxy.

The Disciples do not object, as has been said, to the publication of statements of belief for information, but they do object to using such statements as tests of fellowship. Alexander Campbell, for instance, said: "While we are always willing to give a declaration of our faith and knowledge of the Christian system, we firmly protest against dogmatically propounding our own views or those of any fallible mortal as a condition or foundation of church union and coöperation." (Preface to the second edition of "The Christian System.") Their uniform custom is to follow without unnecessary delay this confession of faith in the Son of God with the administration of baptism and the hand of Christian fellowship.

The principal arguments which have been used against human creeds as conditions of fellowship are the fol-

thing of this character. Had the apostles placed such a statement at the close of the New Testament as is here contemplated, it would have been a sort of labor-saving device not at all designed by our Lord. It would have been a sort of acknowledgment that the writing in the book was not in some respects well adapted in the aggregate to the wants of society. For the good of man it was intended that to come to a knowledge of Jesus Christ our Lord and of the way of salvation should involve much labor, reading, thinking, praying, searching, meditation, and inquiry. Our Father intended to keep the minds of his children much in company with himself by placing in their hands a book of principles which they might read and ponder upon for millenniums of years, and still find in it something new. A fortune left to a child is really a misfortune. This proposition is almost universally true. Whatever lifts the mind above the necessity of exertion robs one not only of employment but of enjoyment as well, and permits him to fall into *ennui*, uselessness, dissipation, and ruin. Hereditary orthodoxy is, however, if possible, a greater misfortune. It often ruins a man in his best interests, and always robs him of the pleasure of searching for the truth, of musing, reflecting, acting for himself.

2. Creeds have often operated, and their tendency has been, to cast out the good, the intelligent, the pure, and to retain those of contrary characteristics and character. They strain out the gnats and swallow the camels. They are in danger of racking off the pure wine and retaining the lees.

3. An examination of the history of the Christian church from almost the beginning will demonstrate that human authoritative creeds have generally been proscriptive and overbearing, and if proscriptive and overbearing, also heret-

ical and schismatical in their tendency. The truth of thi proposition is copiously illustrated by incidents in the history of the church from the construction of the Nicen Creed to the present hour.

4. Their tendency has been to dethrone the Prophet Priest, and King ordained of God to teach, to make intercession, and to rule over the children of men. Such principle was not, of course, in the minds of their authors but such a tendency certainly belongs to authoritativ creedal statements. Men are commanded to hear Christ (Matt. xvii. 5.) He, and he alone, is Head of the body which is the church. (Col. i. 18.) He possesses all authority in heaven and on earth. (Matt. xxviii. 18.) H is the Author and Finisher of the faith. (Heb. xii. 2.) T substitute, even by implication, the teaching of any othe for his doctrine is to displace infallible by fallible instruction.

5. It has been thought that creeds, as above defined are prohibited by such precepts as the following: "Hol fast the form of sound words, which you have heard fron me." (2 Tim. i. 13.) "Contend earnestly for the faitl once for all delivered to the saints." (Jude i. 3.) "Hol fast the traditions which you have heard from us, whethe by word or by our epistle." (2 Thess. ii. 15.) "This i my beloved Son; hear ye him." (Matt. xvii. 5.) Thes and other similar passages clearly inhibit all rivals to th sacred writings, all substitutes, even by implication, fo the New Testament teaching, all final and authoritativ summaries of inspired doctrine. If men are commande to hear Christ as the ultimate authority, it is certain tha Christ forbids a rival Lord. It has been declared that i was the divine purpose that in all things he should be pre

plicity and beauty of the divine writings. Take the word "election" or the phrase "Son of God" as explained in the creeds of human device and in the Bible, and, if possible, imagine a greater contrast in all that is plain, intelligible, and beautiful. Is not the Spirit of God the spirit of eloquence, of clear conceptions, and of appropriate, beautiful, and sublime language? An angel is not to be believed if he presumes to improve the diction of the apostles and prophets. (Gal. i. 6–9.) The Spirit of the living God is the spirit of revelation, of all wisdom and utterance. Men are always infinitely more safe under his guidance than under that of any man, or company of men, however great, wise, or good.

11. Human creeds have been peculiarly hostile to the work of reformation in all ages by their tendency to eject godly and intelligent ministers of religion. All the great reformers of the world have been excommunicated persons. No eminent Christian reformer has ever been permitted to exercise his ministry in the church in which he commenced his work. Such men have always been cast out, rejected, condemned. For this excommunication, rejection, and condemnation the creeds are responsible, and ought, for this reason, themselves to be rejected and con-

(Gal. ii. 4.) There were those who "
because they were not of us," and ther
"forsook" Paul in the hour of danger,
present world." (1 John ii. 19; 2 Tim

Time fails to speak at length of Simon
viii. 9–24), of Alexander the coppersm
of Phygellus and Hermogenes (2 Tim
neus and Alexander (1 Tim. i. 20), wh
over to Satan that they might learn
and of many others who proved insin
fession and false to its obligations.
salem crept in to spy out the liberty o
(Acts xv. 1–5), and bring the brethre
age to the law, and there were Saddu
in Corinth who denied the resurrection
There were philosophers, such as Hyme
who concerning the faith erred, saying
tion was past, and thus they overthrew
(2 Tim. ii. 18.) There were transcen
nied that Jesus Christ had come in the f
lated his bodily existence into the sci
or something equally unreal. (1 Joh

all this influx of falsehood and iniquity, why did not these inspired men see their mistake, and, discarding the simple confession of faith in Jesus as the Son of God, draw up a masterly catechism or skillfully arranged articles of religion which would shut out every error and guard the purity of the church? How sad the reflection that men so ingenious in other respects were so stupid in this and

selves inadequate to meet the deathles
ity. Their utter incompetency to tur
must be apparent. They are not per
the genius of human nature. They
expedients. They are mere incidents
Christ's holy church, and must, theref
give place to a better order. Pure, u
Christianity in letter and in spirit as
pages of the New Testament, is, with
to present-day denominationalism. D
tutions built chiefly upon phrenologica
developments of human nature must b
yield to the whole genius of our comm
want a brighter, deeper, higher, purer,
Christianity than any of them. The w
mands it, and the most spiritually-min
for it.

Mr. Campbell said in his debate w
"Our Reformation began in the convi
quacy of the corrupted forms of religi
effect that thorough change of heart
gospel contemplates as so essential

Christian religion might be sent to the ends of the earth in triumph in less than a single generation.

Protestant England and Protestant America have at their disposal all the means necessary to send the gospel from pole to pole and from the Thames to the ends of the earth. They have men enough, genius, learning, talent, ships, books, money, enterprise, and zeal adequate to such a splendid scheme if they would in Christian faith and purity unite in one holy effort on the plain teaching of the Book of God to humanize, civilize, and evangelize all the brotherhood of man in a comparatively short period of time. Too much of the artillery, intellectual, moral, and physical, is expended upon our little, scattering citadels, fortifications, and towers. This warfare among the professed followers of the Prince of Peace is uncivil, barbarous, savage. Unintentionally, of course, but nevertheless truly, it is a warfare against ourselves, against the common Saviour, and against the whole family of man.

For these and other reasons Disciples pray for the annihilation of partyism, and of everything that directly or indirectly tends to keep it up, and instead of human devices, instead of ordinances and traditions of men, they plead for the doctrine of the Bible, and nothing but the accredited teachings of the Bible, as the standard and rule of all personal duties, as the sufficient bond of union, as containing the only divinely authorized terms of Christian communion, and the sufficient director and formulator of our entire church relations, faith, discipline, and government.

It would seem to be proper before closing this chapter to make a more definite statement than has yet been presented of certain points in the teaching of the Disciples by which they are differentiated from their brethren of the evangelical faith. Some years ago the late Isaac Errett made a statement of particulars in which Disciples

differ from other Christians, and in which, consequently, their doctrinal peculiarities most strikingly appear. This statement is, so far as can be learned, universally acceptable to the Disciples of Christ. Mr. Errett said:

"1. While agreeing as to the divine *inspiration* of the Old and New Testaments, we differ on the question of their equal binding *authority* on Christians. In our view, the Old Testament was of authority with *Jews*, the New Testament *is now* of authority with *Christians*. We accept the Old Testament as true, and as essential to a proper understanding of the New, and as containing many invaluable lessons in righteousness and holiness which are of equal preciousness under all dispensations; but as a *book of authority* to teach *us* what *we* are to do, the New Testament alone, as embodying the teachings of Christ and his apostles, is our standard.

"2. While accepting fully and unequivocally the Scripture statements concerning what is usually called the trinity of persons in the Godhead, we repudiate alike the philosophical and theological speculations of Trinitarians and Unitarians, and all unauthorized forms of speech on a question which transcends human reason, and on which it becomes us to speak 'in words which the Holy Spirit teacheth.' Seeing how many needless and ruinous strifes have been kindled among sincere believers by attempts to define the indefinable, and to make tests of fellowship of human forms of speech, which lack divine authority, we have determined to eschew all such mischievous speculations and arbitrary terms of fellowship, and to insist only on the 'form of sound words' given to us in the Scriptures concerning the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

"3. While agreeing that the Bible furnishes an all-sufficient revelation of the divine will and a perfect rule of faith and practice, we disagree practically in this: *We act*

consistently with this principle, and repudiate all human ***authoritative*** creeds. We object not to publishing, for information, what we believe and practice, in whole or in part, as circumstances may demand, with the reasons therefor. But we stoutly refuse to accept of any such statement as authoritative, or as a test of fellowship, since Jesus Christ alone is Lord of the conscience, and his word alone can rightfully bind us. What he has revealed and enjoined, either personally or by his apostles, we acknowledge as binding; where he has not bound us, we are free; and we insist on standing fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, carefully guarding against all perversions of said liberty into means or occasions of strife.

"4. With us, the divinity and Christhood of Jesus is more than a mere item of doctrine—it is the central truth of the Christian system, and, in an important sense, the creed of Christianity. It is the one fundamental truth which we are jealously careful to guard against all compromise. To persuade men to trust and love and obey a divine Saviour is the one great end for which we labor in preaching the gospel; assured that if men are right about Christ, Christ will bring them right about everything else. We therefore preach Jesus Christ, and him crucified. We demand no other faith, in order to baptism and church-membership, than the faith of the heart in Jesus as the Christ, the Son of the living God; nor have we any term or bond of fellowship but faith in this divine Redeemer and obedience to him. All who trust in the Son of God and obey him are our brethren, however wrong they may be about anything else; and those who do not trust in this divine Saviour for salvation, and obey his commandments, are not our brethren, however intelligent and excellent they may be in all beside. Faith in the une-

life-teachings, sufferings, death for sin, resurrection, ex altation, and divine sovereignty and priesthood—and obe dience to the plain commands he has given us, are wit us, therefore, the basis and bond of Christian fellowship In judgments merely inferential we reach conclusions a nearly unanimous as we can; and where we fail, exercis forbearance, in the confidence that God will lead us int final agreement. In matters of expediency, where we ar left free to follow our own best judgment, we allow th majority to rule. In matters of opinion—that is, matter touching which the Bible is either silent or so obscure i its revelations as not to admit of definite conclusions— we allow the largest liberty, so long as none judges hi brother, or insists on forcing his own opinions on others, o on making them an occasion of strife.

"5. While heartily recognizing the perpetual agenc of the Holy Spirit in the work of conversion—or, to us a broader term, regeneration—we repudiate all theorie of spiritual operations and all theories of the divine an human natures which logically rule out the Word of Go as the instrument of regeneration and conversion; or whic make the sinner passive and helpless, regarding regenera tion as a miracle, and leading men to seek the evidenc of acceptance with God in supernatural tokens or speci revelations, rather than in the definite and unchangeabl testimonies and promises of the gospel. We require assen to no *theory* of regeneration or of spiritual influence; bu insist that men shall hear, believe, repent, and obey th gospel—assured that if we are faithful to God's require ments on the *human* side of things, he will ever be true t himself and to us in accomplishing what is needful on th *divine* side. Our business is to preach the gospel an

little for the logic of any theory of regeneration, if we may but persuade sinners to believe, repent, and obey.

"6. While agreeing with all the evangelical in the necessity of faith and repentance, we differ in this: We submit *no other tests* but faith and repentance, in admitting persons to baptism and church-membership. We present to them no articles of faith other than the one article concerning the divinity and Christhood of Jesus; we demand no narration of a religious experience other than is expressed in a voluntary confession of faith in Jesus; we demand no probation to determine their fitness to come into the church; but instantly, on their voluntary confession of the Christ and avowed desire to leave their sins and serve the Lord Christ, unless there are good reasons to doubt their sincerity, they are accepted and baptized, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and *into* the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. They are thus wedded to *Christ*, and not to a set of doctrines or to a party.

"7. We not only acknowledge the perpetuity of baptism, but insist on its meaning, according to the divine testimonies: 'He that believeth and is baptized *shall be saved*.' 'Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ *for the remission of sins*, and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit.' We therefore teach the believing penitent to seek, through baptism, the divine assurance of the forgiveness of sins, and that gift of the Holy Spirit which the Lord has promised to them that obey him. Thus, in a hearty and Scriptural surrender to the authority of the Lord Jesus, and not in dreams, visions, or revelations, are we to seek for that assurance of pardon and that evidence of sonship to which the gospel points us.

"The Lord's Supper also holds a different place with

us from that which is usually allowed to it. We invest it not with the awfulness of a sacrament, but regard it as a sweet and precious feast of holy memories, designed to quicken our love of Christ and cement the ties of our common brotherhood. We therefore observe it as part of our regular worship, every Lord's day, and hold it a solemn, but joyful and refreshing feast of love, in which all the disciples of our Lord should feel it to be a great privilege to unite. 'Sacred to the memory of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,' is written on this simple and solemn family feast in the Lord's house.

"8. The *Lord's* day—not the Jewish Sabbath—is a New Testament observance, which is not governed by statute, but by apostolic example and the devotion of loyal and loving hearts.

"9. *The Church of Christ*—not sects—is a divine institution. We do not recognize sects, with sectarian names and symbols and terms of fellowship, as *branches* of the Church of Christ, but as unscriptural and antiscriptural, and therefore to be abandoned for the One Church of God which the New Testament reveals. That God has a people among these sects, we believe; we call on them to come out from all party organizations, to renounce all party names and party tests, and seek only for *Christian* union and fellowship according to apostolic teaching. Moreover, while we recognize the seeming necessity for various denominational movements in the past, in the confusions growing out of the Great Apostasy, we believe that the time has now fully come to expose the evils and mischiefs of the sect spirit and sect life, and to insist on the abandonment of sects and a return to the unity of

ınged in heart, and in faith and penitence must
ded up his heart to Christ; otherwise baptism is
out an empty form. But *forgiveness* is something
from *regeneration;* forgiveness is an act of the
gn; not a change of the sinner's heart; and while
ıended in view of the sinner's faith and repentance,
s to be offered in a sensible and tangible form, such
ıe sinner can seize it and appropriate it with unmis-
ıe definiteness. In baptism he *appropriates God's*
ise of forgiveness, relying on the divine testimonies:
that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.' 'Re-
, and be baptized every one of you in the name of
ıs Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive
gift of the Holy Spirit.' He thus lays hold of the
ımise of Christ and appropriates it as his own. He
es not *merit* it, nor *procure* it, nor *earn* it, in being bap-
:ed; but he *appropriates* what the mercy of God has
ovided and offered in the gospel. We therefore teach
who are baptized that if they bring to their baptism a
:art that renounces sin and implicitly trusts the power of
ırist to save, they should rely on the Saviour's owr
omise, 'He that believeth and is baptized shall b
ved.'" ("Our Position," pp. 12, 13.)

On the subject of church government Disciples are,
e main, in harmony with the Congregationalists a
ıptists. For the sake of order and efficiency they h
lers or bishops, deacons and evangelists, yet in the
nce of these the members are taught to meet, to k
e ordinances, and encourage one another to love, to
ırks, and to administer baptism and partake of
ırd's Supper, or do whatever needs to be done to
ıte their own growth and the salvation of si
evertheless, as soon as suitable gifts are develope

in any other ministry the church may need. The position and authority of eldership in a congregation of Disciples is about the same as in a Presbyterian church.

They have no ecclesiastical courts, properly speaking, outside the individual churches, but it is becoming somewhat general to refer difficult cases to a committee mutually agreed on by the parties concerned, their decision to be final. (See "Our Position," p. 14.)

Their position on the subject of union among believers for evangelistic work has been stated with a reasonable degree of fullness. While they make to their brethren of every name a distinct and definite proposition, which they believe to be thoroughly Scriptural also, looking to the reunion of believers, they rejoice in every utterance which tends to break down sectarian barriers, and hail with gladness every step which condemns the folly and wickedness of denominationalism. They have, however, generally, no faith in the practicability of uniting denominations, as such, on any merely human basis, however liberal. The union cannot be Christian unless it is union in Christ, in those things which Christ enjoins, neither less nor more.

CHAPTER IX.

LITERATURE AND EDUCATION.

THE Disciples have been fruitful in the production of literature, especially of a periodical and polemic character. Their movement was, as has been abundantly shown, in the interests of peace and union among the people of God. Theological reconstruction and contention were no part of the original program. A campaign of theological and ecclesiastical war was not so much as thought of by the pious men who were moved by the Spirit of God to undertake to lead the people back to Christianity according to Christ. It was certainly not the purpose of Thomas Campbell when he wrote the "Declaration and Address" for the Christian Association in 1809 to engage in controversy with his brethren, and no one who is at all acquainted with the gentle spirit of Barton Warren Stone can for a moment think of him as a polemic. He was prominently a man of peace.

Thomas Campbell especially, and Alexander, his son, entertained a natural aversion to everything which looked in the direction of theological pugilism. The former never conquered this aversion. The latter, however, did to such an extent that in the minds of many people he is thought of chiefly, if not altogether, as a theological polemic. Alexander Campbell's published debates, are with the Rev. John Walker, a minister of the secession Presbyterian Church in 1820; with the Rev. W. L. Maccalla, of the Presbyterian Church; with Robert Owen, the Socialist;

with Archbishop Purcell, of the Roman Catholic Church; and with the Rev. N. L. Rice, of the Presbyterian Church. These were oral debates, which were published in book form.

The story of a change of view on the part of Alexander Campbell in regard to the subject of a public oral discussion of religious topics is not only interesting but necessary, in order to fully understand a portion of the history of the Disciples. The first public discussion was conducted in the town of Mount Pleasant, in the State of Ohio, a village about twenty-three miles distant from Mr. Campbell's residence in Brooke County, Va., in the month of June of the year 1820. The debate was with a gentleman named John Walker, a minister of the gospel in the seceder branch of the Presbyterian Church. This debate originated as follows:

John Birch, pastor of a Baptist church near Mount Pleasant, during the autumn of 1819 baptized an unusual number of believers. As a means of hindering the progress of Baptist principles and usages in the community Mr. Walker preached on infant baptism. Mr. Birch listened to one of his discourses. In the course of the sermon Mr. Walker quoted from a Dr. Baldwin. Mr. Birch thought the quotation was unfair, and at the conclusion of the address he asked Mr. Walker to what part of Dr. Baldwin's works he had referred. This gave rise to a short discussion as to the meaning of the quotation. During this interview Mr. Walker challenged Mr. Birch, or any regular Baptist minister of good moral character and of reputable standing intellectually, whom Mr. Birch might choose, to meet him in a joint, public, oral discussion on the general subject of baptism, but especially the baptism of infants. Mr. Birch at once accepted the challenge, and invited Alexander

that part of the world, to represent the denomination in such a meeting. Three times Mr. Birch wrote to Mr. Campbell, inviting him to engage in a debate, before he succeeded in eliciting a reply.

In Mr. Birch's third letter to Mr. Campbell he told him that: "It is the unanimous wish of the church to which I belong that you should be the disputant." Writing of this discussion ten years later, Mr. Campbell said: "In the year 1820, when solicited to meet Mr. Walker on the subject of baptism I hesitated for about six months whether it was lawful thus to defend the truth. I was written to three times before I gained my own consent. I did not like controversy so well as many have since thought I did, and was doubtful of the effects it might have on society. These difficulties, however, were overcome, and we met. It was not until after I discovered the effects of that discussion that I began to hope that something might be done to arouse this generation from its supineness and spiritual lethargy."

In his first address Mr. Campbell referred to the hesitancy with which he gave his consent to engage in a public discussion. He said: "But why should I hesitate on the lawfulness of thus vindicating truth and opposing error? Did not the Apostle Paul publicly dispute with Jews and Greeks, with the leaders in philosophy and religion of his time? Yes, he publicly disputed with Epicureans and Stoics, the Jewish priests and the Roman orators, and openly refuted them. Nay, he disputed publicly in the school of one Tyrannus two entire years with all that came unto him. The Messiah himself publicly disputed with the Pharisees and the Sadducees, the priests and the rulers of the people; and by public discussion did Martin Luther

the Reformation. . . . Heaven has stamped its *probatum est* upon this method of maintaining truth."

From the above facts it will be seen that this initial debate was not sought by Mr. Campbell and his friends, but that the challenge which resulted in the discussion was issued by the Rev. John Walker. Mr. Campbell was not connected with the controversy in any manner until after he had received a thrice-repeated invitation from Mr. Birch, at Mr. Walker's request, to meet the latter in a public defense of Baptist principles. Mr. Campbell, in a preface to the debate which was published in 1822, tells with what hesitancy he consented to engage in the unpleasant and doubtful business. He says: "I hesitated a little, but my devotion to the cause of truth, and my being unwilling even to appear, much more to feel, afraid or ashamed to defend the cause of truth, overcame my natural aversion to controversy, and finally determined me to agree to meet Mr. Walker."

Let the fact also be noted that Mr. Campbell appeared in behalf of the Baptist cause, and as "a regular Baptist minister of good moral character and reputable standing." During this debate he spoke as a Baptist. He said: "On my side, or rather on the Baptist side, of the question there is nothing to be proved. The Pedobaptists themselves admit that the baptism which we practice is Christian baptism. They also maintain that infant sprinkling is Christian baptism. This we deny. A Baptist man can present in five minutes a divine warrant and express command authorizing his faith and practice, but a Pedobaptist requires days to prove his practice, and finally fails in the attempt." (Preface to "Campbell and Walker Debate," p. 6.)

At the close of this discussion Mr. Campbell's scruples were so effectually overcome that he gave notice of his

CONTROVERSY DEFENDED.

with the scribes, the elders, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and with the established priesthood of his era. The apostles were noted disputants and the most successful controversialists that ever lived. Paul the Apostle was more famous in this department than Alexander the Great or Bonaparte in the field. Whether a Stoic or an Epicurean philosopher, a Roman orator, a Jewish high-priest, or Sadducean teacher encountered him, he came off victorious and triumphant. Never was he foiled in battle, never did he give back the sword which he wielded, and the arm

n forgets the controversy in admiration of the majesty ruth, the benevolence and purity of their hearts." face to "Maccalla and Campbell Debate.")

'ith the discussions here named and the beginning of publication of the "Christian Baptist," August 1, 1823, belligerent era among the Disciples was fairly inaugu-l.

he prospectus of this paper was at once a declaration ndependence and a proclamation of war. The end objects of the proposed publication were candidly and ly stated in the following words:

The 'Christian Baptist' shall espouse the cause of no ious sect, excepting that ancient sect 'called Christians at Antioch.' Its sole object shall be the eviction of n and the exposing of error in doctrine and practice. editor, acknowledging no standard of religious faith orks other than the Old and New Testaments, and latter as the only standard of the religion of Jesus st, will, intentionally at least, oppose nothing which it ains and recommend nothing which it does not enjoin. ing no worldly interest at stake from the adoption or obation of any articles of faith or religious practice, ng no gift nor religious emolument to blind his eyes o pervert his judgment, he hopes to manifest that he impartial advocate of truth." ("Memoirs of Alex-r Campbell," vol. ii., p. 50.)

ne note of dedication prefixed to the original edition ne "Christian Baptist" reads as follows:

tried by the divine Word; and who, feeling themselves in duty bound to search the Scriptures for themselves, in all matters of religion, are disposed to reject all doctrines and commandments of men, and to obey the truth, holding fast the faith once delivered to the saints—this work is most respectfully and affectionately dedicated by

"THE EDITOR."

The foregoing prospectus and dedication still express the spirit of what may be characterized as the belligerent era of the Disciples, and the facts here stated clearly show the manner in which they were drawn into a war theologic

rom denominationalism themselves and all wh
night be able to influence. It was, however, a
erence, determined to give the name "Christian
o the magazine in order to avoid offending religi
ıdice, as Dr. Richardson says, and to give greater
o the principles which were to be presented. A
lucting this magazine with remarkable success
even years, Mr. Campbell began to fear that t
ates of the union of believers in Christ, by a
he religion of the Son of man as set forth in
Testament, would come to be known as Christian
For this reason in part he determined to change t
of his paper and also his style of writing, inasmu
renchant and caustic style had accomplished the
which he had in view when he adopted it, tha
awakening of a general public interest in the them
o him possessed a very special interest.

But he had no thought of surrendering his p
order to avoid controversy. He would cultiva
ssiduously the "calmness, moderation, benevole
ıeavenly sweetness" which he found in New T
ontroversy and so much admired. That A
Campbell, in starting the new monthly magazi
"The Millennial Harbinger," had no thought of

"Many will contend that religious controversy, oral or written, is incompatible with the pacific and contemplative character of the genuine Christian, and promotive of strifes, tumults, and factions in society, destructive of true piety toward God and of benevolence toward man. This is a prejudice arising from the abuses of controversy. Admit for a moment that it were so and what would be the consequence? It would unsaint and unchristianize every distinguished patriarch, Jew, and Christian enrolled in the sacred annals of the world. For who of the Bible's great and good men was not engaged in religious controversy? To go no farther back than the Jewish lawgiver, I ask, What was his character? I need not specify. Whenever it was necessary, all—yes, all—the renowned men of antiquity were religious controversialists. Moses long contended with the Egyptian magi; he overcame Jannes and Jambres too. Elijah encountered the prophets of Baal. Job long debated with the princes of Edom. The Jewish prophets and the idolatrous kings of Israel waged a long and arduous controversy. John the harbinger and the scribes and Pharisees met in conflict. Jesus and the rabbis and the priesthood long debated. The apostles and the Sanhedrim, the evangelists and the doctors of divinity, Paul and the skeptics, engaged in many a conflict, and even Michael fought in 'wordy debate' with the devil about the body of Moses. Yet who was more meek than Moses, more zealous for God than Elijah, more patient than Job, more devout than Paul, and more benevolent than John? . . .

"Religious controversy has enlightened the world. It gave new vigor to the mind, and the era of the Reformation was the era of the revival of literature. It has enlightened men on all subjects, in all the arts and sciences, in all things philosophic, literary, moral, and political. It

were all controversialists and reformers, philosop
ary and political. Truth and liberty, both rel
political, are the first-fruits of well-directed co
Peace and eternal bliss will be the harvest home
opponents of controversy, or they who *contro*
versy, remember that had there been no controve
the Jewish nor the Christian religion could ever
established, nor, had it ceased, could the Reform
have been achieved. It has been the parent of
social blessings which we enjoy."

In the year 1820 Robert Owen published in t
press, first in the city of New Orleans and late
out the United States, the following challen
clergy:

"Gentlemen: I have now finished a course
in this city, the principles of which are in direct
to those which you have been taught it you
preach. It is of immense importance to the
truth upon these momentous subjects should
tablished upon a certain and sure foundation.
I and all our fellow-men are deeply interested
should be no further delay. With this vie
one hostile or unpleasant feeling on my part, I
friendly public discussion.

union, and misery of every description; that they are now the only real bar to the formation of a society of virtue, of intelligence, of charity in its most extended sense, and of sincerity and kindness among the whole human family; and that they can be no longer maintained except through the ignorance of the mass of the people and the tyranny of the few over that mass."

This was Mr. Owen's challenge, and Mr. Campbell took up the gauntlet thrown down by the defiant unbeliever, the immediate result of which is a published volume containing the arguments for and against the truth of the Christian religion, containing nearly five hundred pages.

It was in this debate that Mr. Campbell delivered an argument in behalf of the truth of the Christian religion, extending through twelve hours, with only such interruptions as were necessary for rest and refreshment. At the conclusion of the debate all persons in the assembly who believed in the Christian religion, or who felt such an interest in it as to wish to see it pervade the world, were asked to signify their belief, interest, and desire by standing up. The result was an apparently universal rising on the part of the great audience. Mr. Campbell then said that he wished all persons who were doubtful of the truth of the Christian religion, or who did not believe in it, or who were not friendly to its spread and prevalence over the world, to signify their doubts, their disbelief, and their unwillingness by rising to their feet. Only three persons arose.

Mr. Campbell's next public discussion was in the city of Cincinnati, in the month of January, 1837, with the then bishop, afterward Archbishop, Purcell. This discussion was the outgrowth of an address delivered in the same city at a meeting of the college of teachers, in which Mr.

cism was resented by Bishop Purcell, and led to a public oral discussion. In this debate Mr. Campbell affirmed:

"1. The Roman Catholic Institution, sometimes called the 'Holy, Apostolic, Catholic Church,' is not now nor was she ever catholic, apostolic, or holy; but is a *sect*, in the fair import of that word, older than any other sect now existing, not the 'Mother and Mistress of all Churches,' but an apostasy from the only true, holy, apostolic, and catholic church of Christ.

"2. Her notion of apostolic succession is without any foundation in the Bible, in reason, or in fact; an imposition of the most injurious consequences built upon unscriptural and antiscriptural traditions resting wholly upon the opinions of interested and fallible men.

"3. She is not uniform in her faith or united in her members, but mutable and fallible, as any other sect of philosophy or religion—Jewish, Turkish, or Christian—a confederation of sects under a politico-ecclesiastic head.

"4. She is the 'Babylon' of John, the 'Man of Sin' of Paul, and the 'Empire of the Youngest Horn' of Daniel's sea-monster.

"5. Her notions of purgatory, indulgences, auricular confession, remission of sins, transubstantiation, supererogation, etc., essential elements of her system, are immoral in their tendency and injurious to the well-being of society, religious and political.

"6. Notwithstanding her pretensions to have given us the Bible and faith in it, we are perfectly independent of her for our knowledge of that book and its evidences of a

general reading of the Scriptures and the diffusion of useful knowledge among the whole community, so essential to liberty and the permanency of good government."

In 1843 a debate extending through eighteen days was conducted in the city of Lexington, Ky., between Alexander Campbell and Nathan L. Rice, of the Presbyterian Church, on the general subject of baptism, on the character of spiritual influence in conversion and sanctification, and on the expediency and tendency of human creeds as terms of union and communion.

Almost one thousand pages are occupied in recording the arguments urged by the distinguished gentlemen on this occasion. It is such a repertory of facts, arguments, and illustrations on the points of issue between Disciples and Pedobaptists as has left nothing new to be said by those who have written and spoken in a controversial way on these topics during the last fifty years.

The "Christian Baptist" was continued through seven years, to be succeeded by a similar publication, entitled "The Millennial Harbinger," which continued forty years. An edition of the "Christian Baptist," revised, in one large volume, is still in print.

This magazine was intended to arouse the people, calling attention to the necessity not only of a reformation, but of a restoration of the religion of Jesus to the world in its doctrine, ordinances, and fruits. This fact will account for the style of much of the writing, especially of the articles by the editor. He intended to be cutting, caustic, and severe. Having succeeded in arresting attention, his style of writing changed with the beginning of "The Millennial Harbinger."

In 1826 Mr. Campbell published a translation of the New Testament, based on work previously done by George Campbell, James McKnight, and Philip Doddridge, with

accurate understanding of its contents.

A fact worthy of mention at this point is as spurious of the thirty-seventh verse of the e of Acts of Apostles. It is believed that th time in which this passage was omitted in th of an English edition of the New Testame makes this omission the more remarkable is this text seemed to be of greatest value to M and his friends in locating the confession of f and its character and scope in the plan of sal

Partly because, probably, of the use of th mersion" instead of the word "baptism," ar cause of the style of English—a sort of Ang —this book has never been popular, notwith tain obvious merits which belong to it.

In 1864 a translation of the New Testame by H. T. Anderson. The English dress of quite attractive. Mr. Anderson allowed hi liberties in his work which give to portions of acter of a paraphrase rather than that of a curate translation of the original text.

In the department of theology the pri are: "The Christian System," by Alexande "Reason and Revelation" and the "Scheme

by the same author; "The Divine Demonstration," by H. W. Everest; "A Vision of the Ages," by B. W. Johnson, being an exposition of the Apocalypse; "The Man in the Book," by Henry Schell Lobingier; "The Old Faith Restated," being a presentation of the fundamental truths and essential doctrines of Christianity as held and advocated by the Disciples of Christ in the light of experience and biblical research, edited by J. H. Garrison, A.M.; "The Gospel Plan of Salvation," by T. W. Brents; "Modern Phases of Skepticism," by President D. R. Dungan; "Evidences of Christianity," by J. W. McGarvey, A.M., Professor of Sacred History and Evidences in the College of the Bible, Kentucky University; "Christian Baptism with its Antecedents and Consequents," by Alexander Campbell; "The Form of Baptism: An Argument Designed to Prove Conclusively that Immersion is the Only Baptism Authorized by the Bible," by J. B. Briney; "The Genuineness and Authenticity of the Gospels," by B. A. Hinsdale, A.M., of the University of Michigan; "The Organon of Scripture; or, The Inductive Method of Biblical Interpretation," by J. S. Lamar; "First Principles and Perfection; or, The Birth and Growth of a Christian," by the same author; "The Christian Preacher's Companion; or, The Gospel Facts Sustained by the Testimony of Unbelieving Jews and Pagans," by Alexander Campbell; "The Office of the Holy Spirit," by Robert Richardson; and "Encyclopædia on the Evidences," by J. W. Monser.

The Disciples have done but little in the writing of commentaries. The earliest work of the kind is a "Commentary on Acts of Apostles," by Professor McGarvey, published in 1863, but recently revised and enlarged. Moses E. Lard wrote a "Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans," a work of merit. In 1876 the publication of a series of volumes, to be known as "The New Testa-

nentary on the Gospel of John," and also a work
otional reading on the entire New Testament.

Of books of sermons the following may be mer
'The Family Companion," by Elijah Goodwin
Pulpit of the Christian Church," by W. T. Moore;
hip to Christ," by J. Z. Tyler; "Serial Discours
B. K. Smith; "The Western Preacher," by J. M. I
'The Gospel Preacher," by Benjamin Franklin, t
imes; "Practical and Doctrinal Discourses," by
Tribble; "Fourteen Sermons," by J. S. Sweeney;
gelistic Sermons," by Robert T. Mathews; "V
Life," by W. T. Moore; "Talks to Bereans," b
Errett; "Lectures and Addresses," by Alexander
ell; "The Iowa Pulpit," by J. H. Painter; "I
n the Pentateuch," by Alexander Campbell; an
Old Path Pulpit," by F. G. Allen. Probably un
ead ought also to be mentioned five volumes
Missouri Christian Lectures," being some of the p
ectures delivered at the annual meetings of a
chool of theology in the State of Missouri.

In the department of history and biography
Memoirs of Alexander Campbell," by Robert Ricl
n two volumes, easily stands at the head. Mrs. Al
Campbell has written also reminiscences of her h

ter; "Life of John Smith," by John Augustus Williams; "Life of John T. Johnson," by John Rogers; "Life of L. L. Pinkerton," by John Shackelford; "Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin," by Joseph Franklin; "Life of Judge Jeremiah S. Black," by Mrs. Clayton; "Life of James A. Garfield," by F. M. Green; "Life of Knowles Shaw," by William Baxter; "Life of Jacob Creath," by P. Donan; "Origin of the Disciples of Christ," by G. W. Longan; "Dawn of the Reformation in Missouri," by T. P. Haley; "History of Reformatory Movements," by John F. Rowe; and "Autobiography of Barton Warren Stone," edited by John Rogers.

In 1850 the Disciples established a mission in the ancient city of Jerusalem. Dr. James T. Barclay was the missionary. This work was sustained until the civil disturbances in our country interrupted it and Dr. Barclay and his family returned home. The chief result of the Jerusalem mission is a book of standard value from the pen of the missionary, entitled "The City of the Great King." Professor McGarvey has written a book of substantial merit containing more than six hundred pages, entitled "Lands of the Bible." This work contains a geographical and topographical description of Palestine, with letters of travel in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and Europe. "Under Ten Flags" is the title of an interesting book of travel by Z. T. Sweeney, late United States Consul to Turkey.

THE HIGHER EDUCATION.

ence of A. S. Fisher. A building was erected in 1850. A charter was granted in 1855, and the name was changed at the same time to Eureka College. Two hundred and thirteen students matriculated during the first session. William M. Brown was president one year. Charles Louis Loss succeeded to the office in 1856. In 1859 George Callender became president. He was followed by B. W. Johnson, who was succeeded by H. W. Everest. The first class graduated in 1860. From the year 1872 to the present time the chief executive officers of the college have been: A. M. Weston, three years; B. J. Radford, two years; H. W. Everest, again, four years; then J. M. Allen, six years. Carl Johann, who became president in 1888, occupies the position now. In the building up of this institution of learning the name of John Dorst, a consecrated business man, deserves to stand conspicuous. Although himself an uneducated man, his devotion to the cause of higher learning was so great that in one of the financial crises through which the institution has passed, when other friends, gentlemen of financial ability, lost heart, he pledged every dollar of property that he had on earth to save the institution. The buildings are of modern construction, and are adequate in size for the accommodation of six hundred students. For Burgess Memorial Hall, the latest building erected on the college campus, the friends of the institution are indebted to Mrs. O. A. Burgess, widow of Rev. O. A. Burgess, one of the early friends of the college. From the beginning the sexes have been admitted to the college on terms of perfect equality. The institution at the present time is in a high degree of prosperity.

Eminence College, Kentucky, is about forty miles from the city of Louisville. Its situation is all that can be desired for an institution of learning, being removed from

COLLEGES.

together with the vigorous administration of President Zollars, have caused Hiram College to grow greatly in influence and importance. The endowment has been largely increased, the curriculum extended, and the teaching force greatly strengthened; but notwithstanding the changes made in the growth of the institution the original aims and spirit remain as in the beginning. The coeducation of the sexes obtains also in Hiram. The preparation of students for the work of the ministry is, and has been from the first, specially emphasized. During the session of 1892–93 ninety young men were candidates for the gospel ministry. Courses of study in law and medicine have recently been added to the curriculum. The number of students annually is in the neighborhood of five hundred.

Drake University, located at Des Moines, Ia., is one of the youngest and most prosperous of all the institutions of learning founded by the Disciples of Christ. The name was given on account of the deep interest taken in and liberal financial assistance rendered to the founding of the university in 1881 by General F. M. Drake. The first session began in September of that year. The institution in its beginning was veritably a school in the wild woods. The first session was held in buildings hastily erected. In the midst of shavings, plaster, fresh paint, etc., the professors taught and the students studied for nearly two years. These temporary buildings served the purposes of chapel, schoolroom, and boarding-house. The opening of the fall term of 1883 was made memorable by the dedication of the main portion of the magnificent buildings in which Drake University has its home. The prosperity of this institution from the very beginning has been marked. In 1889 B. O. Aylesworth became president of Drake University, and so efficient and satisfactory has been his

administration of its affairs that every department is thoroughly organized and in successful operation, while the number of students annually reaches almost one thousand.

Cotner University is located in the vicinity of Lincoln, Neb. In the winter of 1887 an effort was made to build a Baptist college at this place. The people were to donate two hundred acres of land, and the church was expected to erect buildings and organize a school. Matters, however, moved slowly, and the people began to feel that there was a lack of business energy. At this point the question was raised as to the propriety of the Disciples undertaking to carry forward the enterprise. They agreed to donate three hundred instead of two hundred acres of land. A few men in the city of Lincoln pledged their financial resources to insure the erection of suitable buildings. The institution began work in a private house in the autumn of 1889. The spring term began in the university building. The number of students was 137. The enrollment in 1890–91 reached 212. During the year 1893 nearly 400 students were enrolled. A considerable debt has been incurred, but the university is in possession of a large amount of real estate. There are thirty teachers and lecturers. Cotner announces that no man will ever receive credits in that institution which have not been earned, and no honorary titles will be granted, as a matter of favor to some good contributor who has no scholarship. It is claimed that the best buildings belonging to any institution of learning controlled by the Disciples are owned by Cotner University. The outlook is promising.

Carlton College is located at Bonham, Fannin County, Tex., and was founded in 1867 by Charles Carlton, who is still president. Mr. Carlton is a graduate of Bethany College. For fifteen years males and females were ad-

The twenty-first session of Add-Ran
versity, located in the neighborhood of Fo
began in the autumn of 1893. Add-Ran
distinctively Christian institution of learning.
of students enrolled during the last session
coeducation of the sexes obtains here also.

The Southern Christian Institute, locate
Miss., is devoted to the education of color
is under the direction of the General Chr
ary Convention. J. B. Lehman, Ph.D., is p
charter was granted by the legislature of
1875, and provided for the management of
by a joint-stock company. The minimum a
was subscribed and the organization effected
plantation of eight hundred acres, known as
was purchased. Great sacrifices have bee
men and women who have undertaken to
this work, but the blessing of God has been
that their labor has not been in vain. The
energetically done by the Board of Negro
Evangelization, a department of the Gener

The Christian Bible College, located at Ne
County, Ky., founded in 1884, is also devo
cation of negroes. T. Augustus Reid is

stitutions of the same general character, whose existence and prosperity are a result of this appreciation of the value of learning. By their avowed principles and repeatedly published aims the Disciples must be keenly alive to the cause of education and literature, as well as to the great work of evangelizing the nations.

THE first church organized with the
creed or book of discipline and the nam
sufficient designation was at Cane Ridge,
Ky., in the year 1804, under the directi
The purpose of this organization was ev

The Christian Association organized
at Washington, Pa., in 1809, had as its av
promotion of evangelical Christianity.
the association was required to contribu
to be used in the support of the gosp
association at Washington regarded it as
age the formation of other associations s
and aim. The constitution specified th
not a church, but merely an association
vocates for the reformation of the chur
pose, according to one of the articles, was
evangelical Christianity by giving suppo
as exhibit a manifest conformity to the
of Christianity in behavior and doctrin
gence, without attempting to inculcate a
authority, of private opinion, or inventio

simple preaching of the everlasting gospel, and the administration of its ordinances in conformity with the teaching of the New Testament. ("Memoirs of Elder Thomas Campbell," pp. 27–30.) In a word, the Christian Association of Washington, Pa., was a missionary society.

The arbitrary course of the Redstone and Beaver associations of Baptist churches with regard to churches and individuals who could not accept fully all that was embodied in creeds and articles of faith, caused the Campbells and their immediate friends to become members of the Mahoning Association. This association was composed of such churches as had been induced to lay aside all human standards of faith and practice as tests of fellowship, although still wearing the name "Baptist." At the meeting in 1829 it was resolved: "That the Mahoning Association as an advisory council or an ecclesiastical tribunal should cease to exist." ("Life of Walter Scott," by William Baxter, pp. 216, 217.) This was in accordance

After the dissolution those Baptists who had embraced the new views, together with the new converts made, were called Disciples.

At an early period in Alexander Campbell's life he wrote some caustic criticisms of missionary operations, which produced the impression in the minds of some that he was opposed to the work of organized world-wide evangelization. Such an inference, however, does Mr. Campbell injustice. A careful reading of what he published in the "Christian Baptist" on this subject, in the light of those times and his surroundings, will make apparent the fact that he only called in question the wisdom of the management of some of these associations. It seems also that he had in his mind a scheme for the propagation of Christianity in heathen lands closely akin to what are now called self-supporting missions. He thought that the Christian religion could be most effectively propagated by planting Christian colonies in the midst of heathenism, these colonies to be self-supporting and permanent settlements.

After much discussion the American Christian Missionary Society was organized in October, 1849, in Cincinnati. The call for this meeting was published in Mr. Campbell's paper, "The Millennial Harbinger" for that year. Article II. of the constitution adopted at that meeting declared that "the object of this society shall be to promote the preaching of the gospel in this and other lands." ("Christian Missions," by F. M. Green, p. 114.) The first mission attempted was in the ancient city of Jerusalem, and the missionary was Dr. James T. Barclay. After a few years the effort was discontinued. An effort was also made to establish a work in Liberia. Soon after the arrival of the gentleman who had been selected to preach the gospel—Alexander Cross, a pious and devoted man—

he fell a victim in death to the climate. A mission, which produced considerable fruit, was also established on the island of Jamaica in the West Indies. On account, however, of the disturbances occasioned by the Civil War in this country, all effort at work in foreign lands was for a number of years abandoned. The entire energies of the Disciples were devoted to evangelistic and educational work at home.

The foreign Christian Missionary Society was organized in 1875 in the city of Louisville, Ky. The object of this society is "to make disciples of all nations, and teach them to observe all things whatsoever Christ has commanded." ("Christian Missions," by F. M. Green, p. 195.) The receipts, year by year from the first, are as follows:

1876	$ 1,706 00
1877	2,174 00
1878	8,766 00
1879	8,287 00
1880	12,144 00
1881	13,178 46
1882	20,063 94
1883	25,504 85
1884	26,501 84
1885	30,260 10
1886	64,556 06
1887	47,392 85
1888	57,997 19
1889	57,289 15
1890	63,109 49
1891	59,365 76
1892	70,320 84
1893	60,355 01

gland was largely supported by Timothy
rt, a successful and consecrated English
as expected that the churches planted in
be self-supporting in three or four years.
has not been realized. At the last meet-
tian Association 13 churches were repre-
of which were self-supporting. The aggre-
p is 1750; baptisms last year, 316.
ia work is carried on in Denmark, Sweden,
Eight evangelists were employed last year.
number of Disciples is 779; Sunday-school
The number of conversions last year was 191.
ork is carried on at twelve points. Accord-
report, there are 583 Disciples at these sta-
y-school pupils, 519; pupils in day-schools,
en persons are engaged in this work.
ree men and women and 6 native helpers are
th the work of the Disciples in China. There
ns, 4 out-stations, 9 day-schools, 2 boarding-
ospital, and 2 dispensaries. Groups of Chris-
thered at 5 stations, one of which has formed
self-supporting church. The number of con-
Mankin is the central station. Not less than
ients are treated annually by the hospital force,
h of these the gospel is personally presented.
penitents inquired of the missionaries the way
n before the latter understood the language
well to return intelligible answers. There are
s, 25 out-stations, 23 native helpers, 334 con-
pupils in the day-schools, and 588 in the Sun-
ls. The principal stations are Tokyo, Akita,
i. The number of converts last year was 102.
of numerical results in India has not yet come,
bout 150 converts have been baptized. Hurda,

The Christian Woman's Board of Mi
from the fact that the business of the soc
entirely by women. The executive commi
altogether of women. Women select mi
ploy missionaries, both male and female, a
way responsible for the conduct of the bu
island of Jamaica 7 ministers are employe
stations and 1600 members. There are
and 17 Sunday-schools, with a total atte
There are 5 workers at Bilaspur, India,
female physicians, 2 teachers, and 1 zenan
buildings there are a bungalow, schoolho
and hospital. These were erected under t
vision of women. The money for the buil
by the children's missionary bands. Near
were treated by the two physicians in 18
among the Chinese is supported at Port
missionary is a native of China. Papers p
Christian Woman's Board are the "Miss
and the "Little Builders at Work."

The General Christian Missionary Co
lineal and legal descendant of the Am
Missionary Society, organized in 1849.
this organization is "the spread of the go

collected and expended from the beginning by this society and its auxiliaries. The annual collections and disbursements at the present time aggregate about $50,000. Missionaries are employed in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Idaho, Kansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Michigan, Minnesota, Massachusetts, New York, North Carolina, Nebraska, New Mexico, Oregon, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Wisconsin, West Virginia, and Ontario. In connection with the General Convention are the Board of Negro Education and Evangelization and the Board of Church Extension.

There is an increasing interest among the Disciples in city mission work which promises in the near future to greatly augment their influence for good.

The offices of the General Convention and the Foreign Christian Missionary Society are in Cincinnati. Indianapolis is the headquarters of the Christian Woman's Board of Missions. The home of the Board of Negro Evangelization is Massillon, O. The office of the Board of Church Extension is in Kansas City, Mo.

For statistics concerning the number of organizations, church edifices, seating capacity of church buildings, value of church property, and number of communicants, see vol. i. of "American Church History Series," pp. 125–128.

HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN AMERICA.

BY

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Records relating to New England are at Sandwich and New Bedford, Mass., and at Friends' School, Providence, R. I. The Records relating to New York are much scattered. At Friends' Library, Philadelphia, there are many records relating to Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The Records of Baltimore Yearly Meeting previous to 1828 are at the Meeting-House (Hicksite), Baltimore, Md., where they, like those at Philadelphia, are admirably cared for; the Records of Virginia Yearly Meeting are in the possession of the Orthodox Friends of Baltimore, Md. The Records of North Carolina Yearly Meeting are at Guilford College, North Carolina.

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PREFACE.

THE following sketch of the history and doctrines of the Society of Friends in America is based on an independent examination of original records, documents, contemporary histories, journals, and other materials. To compress the history of two hundred and fifty years into less than one hundred and fifty pages has been no easy task; and while great care has been taken to omit nothing of supreme importance, it is altogether likely that omissions will be found more or less serious. It is believed, however, that the account fairly represents the main lines of a remarkably eventful history.

In describing the various divisions which have occurred in the Society the aim has been to be impartial and, so far as practicable, let each side speak for itself. If any feel themselves not fully represented, indulgence is craved for unintentional shortcoming.

To those who have so kindly rendered aid in furnishing information and materials for use in the preparation of this sketch a grateful acknowledgment is due.

HAVERFORD, PA.,
Fourth month, 1894.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

INTRODUCTION.

ORGANIZATION.

[In the following sketch the titles adopted in the United States Census c 1890 are used to distinguish the various divisions of the body calling itsel by the name of "Friends," as "Orthodox," "Hicksites," "Wilburites, and "Primitive." These terms are used simply for the sake of distinction and with no invidious meaning.]

THE Society of Friends in the United States and Can ada is composed of Yearly Meetings, of which the Ortho dox have thirteen, the Hicksites seven, and the Wilburite six. As the organization is essentially the same in all they may be considered together. Each Yearly Meeting as its name implies, meets annually, and exercises a juris diction over a certain amount of territory. The geographi cal extent of each varies, but altogether they include th whole territory on the continent, and all Friends belon to some one of the Yearly Meetings with the exception o the small bodies, styled "Primitive," which form inde independent congregations.[1] On all matters relating to faitl

[1] The Orthodox Yearly Meetings are (1894): New England, New York Canada, Philadelphia, Baltimore, North Carolina, Ohio, Wilmington (O.) Indiana, Western (Ind.), Iowa, Kansas, Oregon. The Hicksite Yearl Meetings are: New York, Genesee (N. Y.), Philadelphia, Baltimore, Ohio Indiana, Illinois. The Wilburite Yearly Meetings are: New England Canada, Ohio, Western (Ind.), Iowa, and Kansas.

and practice each Yearly Meeting is independent of all the rest, nor is it amenable to the others, either singly or combined. On rare occasions one Yearly Meeting may ask advice and assistance of others.[1] In the very early days, London Yearly Meeting was regarded in a rather indefinite way as a court of appeal, but voluntarily relinquished that position. It continues to send, in addition to the special "epistles" to each of the Yearly Meetings, one that is known as the "London General Epistle," which is read in all the Yearly Meetings, but which is simply a message of Christian greeting. English Friends at times of dissension and separation have sometimes endeavored by friendly mediation to settle the difficulties.

The Yearly Meetings are not isolated from one another, but are united in various ways. (1) A member in one place is received as a member everywhere else by his own branch of the Society, and if he brings suitable official letters with him becomes an active member of the meeting to which he removes. (2) A minister if he removes into the limits of another Yearly Meeting is, on presenting the proper credentials, received, without further action, as a full minister.[2] (3) Ministers of one Yearly Meeting, who feel it right to travel and labor as preachers elsewhere, are received, if presenting proper credentials, without transfer of their membership, and are assisted in their work, they for the time being putting themselves under the authority of the meetings where they happen to be. (4) Each Yearly Meeting addresses all the others belonging to its section of the Society every year an "epistle" expressing Chris-

[1] For example, Virginia Yearly Meeting when it had become depleted by emigration consulted Philadelphia, Baltimore, and North Carolina, and on their advice united itself with Baltimore Yearly Meeting in 1845. A number of other cases of less importance have occurred.

[2] By comparatively recent action Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox)

This method of correspondence is, we believe, unique, and has played an important part in the history of the denomination. When separations have occurred in one Yearly Meeting and both divisions send out epistles to the other Yearly Meetings, each of them decides which division to recognize; and whichever one is recognized has its epistle read and answered. By an unfortunate logical strictness the result of this has been that, if two Yearly Meetings having such a question before them should reach different conclusions, this alone has been considered sufficient reason for discontinuing correspondence with each other, for correspondence has been interpreted to mean indorsement of the position held, at least on Inter-Yearly Meeting matters. (5) There are various Inter-Yearly Meeting organizations officially recognized. Thus the Hicksites have their Union for Philanthropic Labor, and on Indian Affairs, and the Orthodox have their Associated Committee on Indian Affairs, the Peace Association of Friends in America, and are forming a Foreign Mission Board. (6) Delegated advisory conferences are held. Of these the Orthodox have held several, and it seems probable that they will hereafter hold them once in every five years, though each Yearly Meeting will be at liberty not to send delegates without interfering with its regular intercourse.[2] We believe that no stated conferences referring to the general condition and work of the Society have been held by the other branches of Friends. (7) The visits of ministers and other members of one Yearly Meeting to other Yearly Meetings during their sessions is a very strong practical

[1] It has been on this ground that the correspondence between Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and other Yearly Meetings has ceased.

[2] Thus in 1892 Canada Yearly Meeting declined to take part in the Indianapolis Conference, but this action has not put it out of harmony with the rest.

bond of unity. (8) Among the Orthodox, whenever a new Yearly Meeting is to be established the Yearly Meeting proposing the action asks the consent of the

have weight. The theory is that the guidance of the d is to be realized and followed in the business meeting, there is therefore an entire absence of evidences of ause, or of motions and counter-motions. The prac- result of this system is conservative, for the theory is , so far as possible, any new step shall be taken as nited action of the meeting; and if a reasonable num- even though a minority, be dissatisfied with a proposi- , it is either dropped or modified, the effort being to vince but not to force.[1] Nearly all the separations have occurred have been due to the neglect of this ciple.

he position of women is one of absolute equality with .[2] In some cases the sessions are held with the men women meeting together, in others separately. When latter prevails, the propositions adopted by one meet- are sent for approval to the other, where they may be cted or adopted.

t is competent for a Yearly Meeting at any given year nake any change in its Discipline, though it is custom- to appoint a committee to consider important changes a year and then report. The decisions of the Yearly eting are binding on all the meetings within the limits ts jurisdiction. It is also the only authoritative in- reter of the Discipline, and the final court of appeal. ing its recess it is represented by an executive com- tee called the representative meeting,[3] meeting at stated

n some of the Western Yearly Meetings methods somewhat, though ntirely, similar to parliamentary ones prevail.

This is not strictly correct as far as Philadelphia is concerned, and per- is not fully the case as regards the business of the church among the urites.

This committee, owing to the fact that the first object of its appointment o assist members who were suffering for their principles, was called any years the "Meeting for Sufferings," a name still retained in a few

times and upon special call. It has a few special duties, but is not allowed in any way to interfere with or to enforce the discipline.

In addition to this, the Yearly Meetings have standing committees on various subjects, such as peace, education, temperance, etc. The Orthodox bodies, with one or two exceptions, have also committees on home and foreign missions, evangelization, etc.

Every Yearly Meeting is divided into quarterly meetings. These meet four times a year,[1] and receive reports from the meetings which constitute them (monthly meetings). A summary of these reports is made and forwarded to the Yearly Meeting. As in the Yearly so in the quarterly meetings, every member is entitled to take part in the discussions, the same order of procedure prevailing in them as in the former. The quarterly meeting takes cognizance of the action of the monthly meeting, and can be appealed to whenever dissatisfaction is felt with the action of a lower meeting. Its assent is required for the establishment of any new meeting. When a new quarterly meeting is to be established, however, the consent of the Yearly Meeting is necessary. It appoints its own committees on various lines of Christian work, and sends down word to the monthly meetings how much each meeting is expected to contribute toward the expenses of the Yearly Meeting.

The monthly meeting is the executive power so far as the membership is concerned, subject to appeal to the quarterly and Yearly meetings. In practical working, however, its acts are seldom criticised by its superior meetings, and its executive duties make it a most important

[1] In some cases these meet but three times or even only twice a year, in

body. It receives and on occasion can disown (i.e., expel) members, and it has the direct oversight of the congregations composing it. Its organization is similar to that of other "business meetings or meetings for discipline" (as they are called in distinction to the "meetings for worship"). In addition to this and its committees, its regular officers are elders and overseers. The duties of the former are, first, to encourage and counsel the ministers, and second, to have a Christian care over the membership. In some places they hold office for life or good behavior, in others for a term of years. They are appointed by the joint action of the monthly meeting and the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders, of which we shall speak presently. The overseers are (1) a committee to receive applications for admission before being presented to the monthly meeting. (2) Their duty is to be on the lookout for any in the meeting in need of spiritual or temporal aid. (3) They are to admonish offenders and endeavor to restore them; and if they fail in this, they are to report to the monthly meeting for its action. (4) In some localities, as in New England, they have special duties in regard to the holding of church property. (5) They prepare at stated times in the year answers to certain questions, called "queries," directed by the Discipline to be answered in order to show the condition of church life and progress. These answers are laid before the monthly or preparative meeting[1] for emendation or approval, and to be forwarded to the superior meetings. They are appointed directly by the monthly meeting alone, and the length of their

Ministers have not been referred to as regular officers. The reason of this has been that the organization is considered complete, as an organization, without them. The Disciplines require the appointment of elders and overseers, but do not require that of ministers. There is no provision in the Disciplines for their training at seminaries or otherwise. The theory is that the church recognizes when the gift and the qualification have been committed to a man or woman, and acknowledges it, after which he or she is called an "acknowledged," "recommended," or "recorded" minister. There is no ceremony of ordination. The minister continues to follow his ordinary vocation, except when for the time being he is prevented from so doing by special religious service at home or abroad; in such case, if his work has the approbation of the meeting, his wants are supplied; but as a minister he receives no salary.[1]

The acknowledgment, or recording, of a minister is accomplished as follows: A Friends' meeting for worship is supposed to be held under the immediate direction of the Spirit of Christ.[2] The congregation meets in silence, with no prearrangement of service; there is no stated length for any sermon, prayer, or exhortation, and often several persons, not necessarily ministers, take part during the same meeting. If any speak in a way that appears to lack the evidence of having a right call, it is the duty of the elders to admonish such; if they speak with acceptance, the elders are to encourage and advise them. If one has spoken frequently and is seen to have a gift, it is acknowledged by the church and a record made of it; the action is in this case, as in that of the elders, taken conjointly by the monthly meeting and the quarterly

meeting of ministers and elders. The minister is the only officer, if such he can be called, who is not affected by change of residence beyond the limits of the monthly meeting.[1]

It remains for us now to consider the constitution of the meeting of "ministers and elders," called also in many places the meeting on "ministry and oversight," and sometimes the "select meeting." In every Yearly Meeting the ministers and elders, in many places the overseers as well, and sometimes also persons appointed to sit with them, are required to meet together at regular times, generally every three months, to review the state of the membership and to consider the needs of the work, but without disciplinary powers. They are frequently the ones to propose a suitable person to the monthly meeting for acknowledgment as a minister. They also are required to answer certain "queries" applying especially to them as to doctrine, life, and practice; these are forwarded to a quarterly meeting of similar character, to which representatives are sent. This meeting is composed of the several monthly meetings on ministry and oversight within the limits of the ordinary quarterly meeting. It unites with the monthly meetings in the acknowledgment of ministers or appointment of elders, or, when need requires, in the removal of them from office. Once a year it forwards its summary of the reports from its lower meetings to the Yearly Meeting on Ministry and Oversight. The only duty of this latter meeting beyond that of advice and recommendation is to sanction the action of the monthly and quarterly meetings (of the general membership), or to

[1] In some Yearly Meetings among the Orthodox certain doctrinal ques-

refuse its sanction to consenting to ministers traveling on

CHAPTER I.

BEGINNINGS IN ENGLAND.

AMONG the many denominations which appeared in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that time of religious upheaval, none is more striking than the Society of Friends. Though scarcely one of its doctrines was absolutely new, yet the combination of so many radical tenets produced a remarkable factor in the religious economy of Christendom, the effects of which are only beginning to be appreciated.

"England had been stunned for twenty years with religious polemics. The forms of church government—presbyterianism and prelacy—the claims of the independents and the clamors of the sectaries, the respective rights of the pastors and the people, were discussed in every pulpit, they distracted every parish and every house."[1] Torn by civil war, agitated with bitter theological disputes, full of men dissatisfied with church, with state, with almost every existing institution, England was indeed in a sad way. It was amid such surroundings, influenced by such currents of thought, out of such a hurly-burly, that the Society of Friends arose.

The history of the early years of the Society is the history of its founder. George Fox was born at Fenny Drayton, sometimes known as Drayton-in-the-Clay, Leicestershire, July, 1624. "My father's name was Christopher

[1] J. B. Marsden, "History of the Later Puritans," 2d ed., London, 1854.

Fox; he was by profession a weaver, an honest man. . . . The neighbors called him Righteous Christer. My mother was an upright woman; her maiden name was Mary Lago, of the family of the Lagos, and of the stock of the martyrs."[1] His youth "was endued with a gravity and stayedness of mind that is seldom seen in children."[2]

Notwithstanding his sober and serious youth, he seems to have had no idea that he was to be called to any special work, and, as with many a man, a slight thing, apparently, proved the turning-point in his life. Being asked to drink healths by some young men who were "professors" of religion, he was so grieved that such persons should act in this way that he threw down his share of the previous entertainment and went out of the room. A sleepless night followed, during which he believed he heard the call of the Lord summoning him to leave all things. He went from place to place seeking peace of mind; once he says that "a strong temptation to despair came upon me, and then I saw how Christ was tempted, and mighty troubles I was in." He went from "priest to priest" to get help, but found them sorry comforters, for they did not see that he was one who needed spiritual food and enlightenment, not mental distraction. He remained more than a year in this state. At last, he writes, "about the beginning of the year 1646, as I was going to Coventry and entering toward the gate, a consideration arose in me how it was said that all Christians are believers, both Protestants and papists. And the Lord opened to me that if all were believers, then were they all born of God and passed from

[1] "Journal" of George Fox, London, 1694, p. 1. We hear little or nothing of George Fox's relatives except now and then he simply mentions visiting them. (But see "Journal," pp. 390, 396.) Charles Marshall says, under date of "11th month, 19th, 1671": "I went to see G. F.'s mother in Leicestershire." ("Journal" of Charles Marshall, London, 1844, p. 17.)

[2] William Sewel, "History of the Quakers," London, 1725, 2d ed., p. 6.

death to life, and that none were true believers but such, and though others said they were believers yet they were not. Another time, as I was walking in a field on a first-day morning, the Lord opened to me that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ; and I stranged at it, because it was the common belief of people."[1] He still did not find absolute peace, but continued to go up and down though the country.

After the conviction that education was no essential qualification of a minister, he naturally turned more and more to the dissenters, but he found little satisfaction with most of them. So he goes on to say: "When . . . I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could tell what to do, then, oh, then I heard a voice which said, 'There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition,' and when I heard it my heart did leap for joy."[2] And when he cried to the Lord, "'Why should I be thus, seeing I was never addicted to commit those evils?' the Lord answered that it was needful I should have a sense of all conditions—how else should I speak to all conditions? And in this I saw the infinite love of God. I saw also that there was an ocean of darkness and death, but an infinite ocean of light and love which flowed over the ocean of darkness."[3] Again he says: "Now was I come up in spirit through the flaming sword into the Paradise of God. All things were new, and all creation gave another smell unto me beyond what words can utter." This was when he was about twenty-three.

The sentences quoted lie at the root of Fox's practice and teaching—consistency of the outward life with the profession; the necessity of some power within the man to enable him to live in accordance with the will of God;

the direct communication of this will to every believer in the Lord Jesus Christ. His labors were from first to last a comment on the text, "If we live by the Spirit, by the

mber of cases has been greatly exaggerated. It was ually after the "priest" was through that the Friend oke, and then it was on account of the unpalatable doc-ine, rather than for the interruption, that he suffered. The places of worship he entered were usually those be-onging to the Independents, and this body allowed dis-cussion after the sermon.[1] Fox frequently speaks of wait-ing until the minister was through, and once at least he was invited up into the pulpit. A striking instance oc-curred at Ulverstone, where Margaret Fell, who, when he was interrupted as he was speaking *after* the "priest," called out, "Why may not he speak as well as any other?"[2]

Had it not been for his strong common sense, Fox might have gone through an experience somewhat similar to that of his adherent, James Nayler,[3] or have become a second Ludowick Muggleton. As it was, though one of the most mystical of modern reformers, he was at the same time one of the most practical, all his spiritual teach-ing, from the very first, being accompanied by not only desires, but by efforts for the moral, political, and social welfare of his hearers; his journal is full of practical sug-gestions. He "was the first who raised his voice against the evils of West Indian slavery. He claimed freedom of

[1] "After all this is done [praying, preaching by the pastor, etc.] they [the Independents] have yet another exercise, wherein by way of conference, questioning, and disputation every one of the congregation may propound publicly and press their scruples, doubts, and objections against anything which that day they have heard." ("A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time," etc., Robert Baylie, London, 1645, p. 30. This book was published just before George Fox began to preach. The writer has found no instances of the interruption of a Church of England service.)

[2] "Journal," pp. 56, 57, 61, 78, 109; see also R. Barclay, "Inner Life," pp. 274–293.

[3] Nayler is often quoted as an example of the wild enthusiasm of the early Friends; even so careful a writer as H. Weingarten being deceived as to the true character of the episode. ("Die Revolutionskirchen Englands," Leipzig, 1868, p. 271.) Nayler's actions were disavowed by Friends at the time, and he recanted, confessed his error, and was restored. (Sewel, pp. 147–155.)

EARLY MISSIONARIES.

gave them forth. . . . I saw that the grace of God which brings salvation had appeared to all men, and that the manifestation of the Spirit of God was given to every man to profit withal."[1]

He and his followers saw that wherever there was a human soul, Christ Jesus, the Light of the world, had called that soul, and by his Spirit had visited it, that he might bring it to himself. We can imagine what a wonderful discovery this must have been to men brought up to believe in a limited salvation, open only to an elect few. What wonder that they felt constrained to tell all men that God was seeking their salvation, not their destruction, and that he was personally calling each one to himself. They thus presented an entirely different picture of God from that presented by the Puritans, and their zeal was such in those early days that the term Quaker meant, in the minds of a large number of outsiders, a people who were a terror to their religious opponents, an unanswerable puzzle to the magistrates, and whose frenzy neither pillory, whipping-post, jail, nor gallows could tame. It was this sense of the universality of the work of the Holy Spirit, and of the completeness of the salvation for each individual man through Jesus Christ, which not only made them so hopeful for the whole race, but also so ready to work for the bettering of mankind. There was no one too high to be spoken to, no one too low to be considered. Thus we find Oliver Cromwell, the Pope, the Sultan visited, and the slave and Indian pleaded for. Absolute, unhesitating obedience to what was believed to be the will of God was characteristic of Fox and his associates, and a knowledge of this fact will explain many things otherwise inexplicable. Matters which might to an outsider seem of little moment were held of supreme importance if believed to be required

or forbidden as the case might be. Expediency was a word that hardly possessed any meaning for them.[1]

He soon gathered a band of those who felt they were called to preach and exhort. There was no ordination, there was no formal recognition of their position, for there was no church organization; but by 1654 there were "sixty ministers"[2] traveling up and down. Many of these missionaries were young in years,[3] few beyond the prime of life. There seems to have been no organized arrangements for these ministers; they went wherever they believed the Lord sent them, whether it was to a neighboring county or to a distant land, though not infrequently counsel was taken with George Fox, when practicable, or with other Friends.[4] The adhesion of Margaret Fell, the wife of Judge Fell of Swarthmoor Hall, near Ulverstone, was a great support. She was a woman of remarkable attainments, great executive ability, and excellent judgment. Her husband, Judge Fell, though he never joined the Society, was a powerful friend to it. Margaret Fell was also a woman of property and position, and used both liberally in aid of the new movement.[5] She has been compared, and not without reason, to Lady Huntingdon among the early Methodists. Her house soon became the headquarters of the missionary band, her

advice was sought and given, and though comparativ few of her own letters have been preserved, very many those addressed to her are still in existence,[1] over f hundred being in the Devonshire House collection alo There is no doubt also that at Swarthmoor Hall contril tions were received for the expenses of those traveling a for the relief of those suffering for their principles. T funds thus received were distributed as occasion requir Many of the early preachers came from the neighborhc of Swarthmoor, which fact also helps to account for M garet Fell's great influence.[2]

No distinct creed was preached by this early band, I they called every one away from dependence upon ar hing but Christ himself. They directed their hearers he light of Christ within their hearts. Fox loved to dw

[1] "Letters of Early Friends," John Barclay, p. 25, note, London, 18 M. Webb, p. 82. See Margaret (Fell) Fox's Testimony concerning Ge ox, prefixed to his "Journal."

[2] Barclay, in his "Inner Life" (already referred to), pp. 268 ff., ought to prove that Fox acted much like a modern missionary societ upplying ministers where they were needed, and in displacing those vere unsuitable. He also endeavors to show that there was a systen inerant preaching nearly as complete as that of the later Wesleyans. I lay appears to have made up his mind on these points and then to have ut to find evidence for his view. In bringing this forward he takes l ccount of the vast amount of testimony on the other side, and sometim ould seem he even ignores what does not make for his side. A car xamination of his arguments, and of many of the official documents of ociety, of Croese's, Sewel's, and Gough's histories (the first two b ontemporary accounts), as well as of many of the "Journals" of e riends, fails to confirm his position. It is incredible that Fox, with " uperhuman truthfulness," should never have mentioned such an arra ment in his "Journal." Barclay's work treats with great ability of subj generally neglected by other historians, gives much curious information, s the result of much labor and thought. It is, therefore, the more t egretted that the wide circulation of the book should have given curren views regarding the Society of Friends which rest on insufficient evidenc they are not largely erroneous. See an able criticism, "An Examen," c Charles Evans, M.D., Friends' Book-store, Philadelphia, 1878; J. Win "Narrative and Critical History of America," Boston, 1884, vol. iii., p. 5 The little book, "Letters, etc., of Early Friends," A. R. Barclay (edit London, 1841, pp. 274 ff., alone almost disproves his position, the ed being R. Barclay's uncle!

name which they adopted and used for
also called themselves "Friends of
"The Religious Society of Friends,"
frequently added, "commonly called Q

The phrase "Inner Light" has also
attached to them and their successors.[2]

Accompanying this spiritual teach
practical testimony against oaths, as be
words of Christ, "Swear not at all;'
being also contrary to the gospel, whos
freely give what they had freely receiv
guage which departed from verbal tr
titles of compliment;[3] the use of the
pronouns in address; of refusing to ur
any man, regarding the act as one of
practiced only toward God.[4]

[1] The origin of the name Quaker is thus descri
self: "This was Justice Bennet of Darby, who w
Quakers, because I bid them tremble at the word
was in the year 1650." ("Journal," p. 37; "Do
1706, p. 507.) So also Sewel, who adds, the nam
sion to many silly stories" (Sewel, p. 24. See Gera
History of the Quakers," London, 1696, p. 5), stor
this day. (See Maryland, Wm. Hand Browne, Bo

[2] There is no doubt that meanings have been
widely different from that held by Fox. He says:
the divine light, which Christ, the heavenly and sp

It was the practice in those times to make a difference in the manner of speaking to equals and to superiors. "Thou" and "thee" was used to the former and to inferiors, but "you" to superiors. It seemed to many at the time, as well as at a later day, that Fox attached too much importance to language and to the hat, but it is difficult to judge correctly without an accurate knowledge of the period. The principle involved was right, and having accepted that, he carried it to its logical conclusion. The practice of calling the days and months by their numerical names was not original with him, it was a custom among the early Baptists as well. As to dress, there is absolutely nothing to show that Fox advised anything but simplicity; uniformity he does not hint at; that was the product of a later age. His "leather breeches" have become famous through Carlyle,[1] but there is no authority whatever for the statement that he stitched them himself, and the material seems to have been chosen for its wearing qualities alone. He himself bought for his wife a piece of red cloth for a mantle.[2]

The views of Fox spread, and thousands flocked[3] to hear and to accept the comforting doctrines proclaimed by these earnest men and women. Fox's acceptance of the universality of the gospel, and of the direct visitation of every soul by the Holy Spirit, logically brought him to see that women could not be excepted from any part of the divine commission.[4] Though the number of women who preached

which was due to God only. (Fox's "Journal," p. 179, and many other places.) "There was nothing which brought more abuse on these scrupulous reformers. In vain they explained that they did not mean it disrespectfully. Many were hurried away and cast into prison for contempt of court without any other crime being proved against them." (M. Webb, pp. 31, 32.)

[1] "Sartor Resartus," book iii., chap. i. [2] M. Webb, p. 250.

at first, and the beginnings of organization v
like the apostolic practice.

Fox, in 1652, thus writes to Friends: "
God, and mind that which is committed to y
servants, laboring in love; some threshing, a
ing, and some to keep the sheep: he that ca
let him: and all to watch over one another i
God."[1] This was Fox's ideal meeting, a
organization afterward developed by him is
principle involved in these words. Like the
one of the first objects was the care of the
see that all walked according to truth."[2]

did not, however, introduce women's preaching into th
Edwards, in his "Gangræna," mentions the fact of women
than once. (See part i., pp. 26, 113, London, 1646.)

[1] "Epistles," Epistle 16, London, 1698, p. 15.

[2] "Letters, etc., of Early Friends," p. 311.

CHAPTER II.

DISCIPLINE AND DOCTRINE.

As numbers increased, necessity for some formal plan naturally suggested itself, though from the first, as Fox's "Epistles" and those of other Friends clearly show, the spirit of discipline was always present and carried out, though informally. Individual monthly meetings for discipline were set up, certainly as early as 1653, in Durham, and elsewhere in the northern counties,[1] but the practice was occasional. Among the earliest held were "general meetings," which were held for discussion, for advice, and to take into consideration all matters of common interest. The first of which any record remains was held at Swanington, Leicestershire, 1654; another was at Balby, Yorkshire, in 1656, which issued a number of directions and advices; and from this time such meetings were held frequently. In 1660 Fox mentions a meeting at Skipton "for business relating to the church both in this nation and beyond the seas." He states also "this meeting had stood for several years, and part of the business was to consider the cases of those who had suffered for truth's sake, and to help the poor."[2]

Quarterly meetings were established contemporaneously with monthly meetings, and for similar purposes. The

[1] Fox's "Journal," pp. 310, 321, 419; "Letters, etc.," pp. 283, 286, 311 ff; "Epistles from Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London," etc., Historical Introduction, London, 1858, vol. i., pp. vii. ff.

[2] "Journal," p. 215; Sewel, p. 93.

meetings of discipline is one of the mos
in the history of the Society. George
prison most of the time for three year
period of his withdrawal from service n
into extremes. One of the most radical
a preacher who had been very active, "
in person, yet great in opinion of hin
would serve him than to go and co
Perrot on reaching Rome was confin
After great difficulty his release was se
turn to England his eccentricities were gr
ings he had undergone gave him positio
speaking gained him adherents. He ta
they had an immediate motion at that
the hat should be kept on in time of pul
the one praying and by those worshipin
teaching spread; some very prominent l
porarily led away by it to a greater or l
them Isaac Penington, Thomas Ellwood

[1] Bowden, vol. i., p. 208.

[2] "History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood" (a
don, 1714, p. 241.

[3] In the MS. Records of Virginia Yearly Meeting
from Isaac Penington expressing sorrow at his bei
asking the Virginia Friends to give up or destroy

To Fox, who was a most reverent man, this teaching was abhorrent; he speaks of Perrot's followers as those who "had run out from the truth." He held several meetings with them "which lasted whole days," and reclaimed a number who, Thomas Ellwood says, with great simplicity and humility of mind acknowledged their "outgoing" and took condemnation and shame to themselves.[1]

Fox's good sense saw something must be done to avoid, as far as possible, such schisms in the future. Ellwood's statement is so clear that it deserves to be quoted: "Not long after this, G.[eorge] F.[ox] was moved of the Lord to travel through the countries, from county to county, to advise and encourage Friends to set up monthly and quarterly meetings, for the better ordering the affairs of the church; in taking care of the poor; and exercising a true gospel discipline for a due dealing with any that might walk disorderly under our name; and to see that such as should marry among us did act fairly and clearly in that respect."[2] To these might be added: recording the sufferings of Friends, and extending aid to those in prison and to their families; keeping records of births, marriages, and deaths; and other minor matters.

The admirable system of meetings and records thus instituted by Fox has lasted with little alteration to the present day. Fox's practical mind is well illustrated on this journey by his advising friends at Waltham to set "up a school there for teaching boys, and also a women's school at Schacklewel for instructing girls and young maidens in whatsoever things were civil and useful in the creation."[3] His efforts were not confined to England, but he wrote to Scotland, Holland, Barbadoes, and other parts of America

[1] Fox's "Journal," p. 310; Ellwood's "Autobiography," p. 244.
[2] "Autobiography," p. 245; Fox's own account, "Journal," pp. 310 ff.
[3] "Journal," p. 316.

advising the same course. Thus it is seen that not only was Fox a founder but a skillful organizer. He did not accomplish this work without opposition. Two well-known ministers, John Wilkinson and John Story, opposed him, partly, Sewel says, from envy, and partly because things were not ordered as they wished. The ground taken by them was, "that every one ought to be guided by the Spirit of God in his own mind, and not to be governed by rules of man." They were also opposed to women's meetings. They gathered a number of adherents, and at one time threatened much trouble; but, in Sewel's quaint words, "at length they [illegible]

as the "Canons and Institutions," and there seems little doubt that Fox was the author, as it bears his signature. This document was practically the Discipline of the Society for a long time. R. Barclay, in his "Inner Life" (p. 395), says that it is found at the commencement of the records of every quarterly meeting which had been hitherto inspected by him bearing date 1669. The writer of the present sketch found it in the beginning of the Virginia Records, which state that they were begun "in the year 1673 by the motion and order of George Fox, the servant of God."[1] There are nineteen different heads, under which are grouped appropriately advices and regulations concerning almost all matters which would be likely to come up before a church organization. They largely relate to matters of practical morality and Christian oversight and care.

No document exactly answering to a creed has ever been put forth by the Society as a whole, though a number of declarations of faith have been issued from time to time; but these have been rather for the benefit of outsiders, or in answer to charges preferred, than for the members of the Society. One of the earliest formal statements was that made by John Crook in 1663, entitled "Truth's Principles"; and Edward Burrough published one in 1658.[2] Another, in 1671, was addressed by George Fox and his companions, while in the island of Barbadoes, to the governor of that island. This is so comprehensive that it has been quoted and referred to by the Society more than any similar document. As it is a defense

[1] The document is printed in full in "The London Friends' Meetings," by William Beck and T. Frederick Ball, London, 1869, pp. 47 ff.; also in substance by R. Barclay, "Inner Life," p. 395.

gainst "false and scandalous reports," more stress is laid upon those points which Friends had in common with other Christian bodies than those in which they differ.[1]

The earliest formal statement by the Society was a document put forth in 1693. This action was due to the charges preferred by George Keith, who, after having been a prominent member, left the Society and became one of its bitterest enemies,[2] and "charged the Quakers with a belief which they never had owned to be theirs, [and] they found themselves obliged publicly to set forth their faith anew in print which they had often before asserted both in words and writing, thereby to manifest that their belief was really orthodox, and agreeable with the Holy Scriptures."[3] This document remains one of the best statements of the Quaker faith. It was probably the work to a large extent of George Whitehead, who nearly forty years before was one of George Fox's band of sixty ministers. The widely known "Apology" of Robert Barclay, though published in 1678,[4] was not regarded as an official statement in the seventeenth century. It is a little curious that George Fox never directly refers to the work.

The main points of the teaching of Friends must be gathered from various documents issued at various times. Accepting the ordinary fundamental doctrines of Christianity, they differed from other denominations in several important respects,[5] which may be grouped under the

[1] "Journal," pp. 357–361; "Christian Discipline," pp. 2–6; and in the Disciplines of all the Yearly Meetings.

[2] See chapter iii., Pennsylvania.

[3] Sewel, pp. 618–625, who gives the document in full. It has been reprinted in part in most of the Disciplines of the Yearly Meetings.

[4] Originally published in Latin under the title "Theologiæ veræ Christianæ Apologia," Amstelodami, 1676, but afterward translated by the author into English, as "An Apology for the True Christian Divinity," 1678 (Aberdeen?).

[5] These differences were far greater in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than at present, not only in doctrine but in practice; e.g., the liberty

following heads: (1) The importance attached to the immediate personal teaching of the Holy Spirit—this lay at the root of most of their "testimonies"; (2) The disuse of all types and outward ordinances; (3) The manner of worship and of appointment of ministers; (4) The manner of carrying into daily life and practice the commands of Christ.

Their teachings in regard to the Spirit and in regard to oaths, dress, and language have been sufficiently indicated in the preceding pages. In disusing the ordinances of Baptism and the Supper, they believed, first, that there was no command for their continuance; and secondly, that as the spiritual baptism and spiritual communion were essential there was no need for the outward sign; also holding that the use of the type tended to beget reliance upon the type. Dependence upon the immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit led the Friends to meet for divine worship in outward silence, as it was only under such circumstances that the Holy Spirit could call for what service he would, and from whomsoever he would. They believed that nothing should come between the soul and God but Christ, and that to make the worship of a whole congregation depend upon the presence or absence of one man was contrary to the idea of true worship. Ministers, they held, were called and qualified of God, and so the exercise of their gifts was not to be dependent upon education or upon any special training;[1] that the gift of the ministry was bestowed upon men and women alike. They believed in carrying gospel precepts into daily life more than most

to decline to take judicial oaths, which privilege the Friend died to uphold, through his efforts is the right of every one in America, and also in England of all who can show that they have conscientious scruples against taking an oath.

[1] Education was not undervalued, but highly esteemed, as has been seen in George Fox's recommending the establishment of schools; but this was for all persons.

in strict accord with their religious profession. War, they held, was clearly antagonistic to the commands of Christ, and contrary to the whole tenor of a gospel of love and peace.

Their views in regard to the Holy Scriptures have been much misunderstood. This has been due partly to the way in which they often expressed their views, and partly from readers not paying due attention to the context, from not examining other writings, or from being ignorant of the real practice of the early Friends. George Fox "had an extraordinary gift in opening the Scriptures" (Penn's preface to "Journal"), and it is well known he carried a Bible with him; few persons have been more familiar with the Bible than he, or been able to make a more ready use of it, as his journal abundantly testifies. Samuel Bownas at times preached with his Bible in his hand.[1] The extreme literalism of the age led the early Friends to make use of language to which their antagonists gave meanings often quite foreign to the real facts. Barclay's words, "We shall also be very willing to admit it as a positive certain maxim, that whatsoever any do pretending to the Spirit, which is contrary to the Scriptures, be accounted and reckoned a delusion of the devil," are a fair statement of the general belief.[2]

Their views as to marriage and the marriage ceremony are peculiar, and were laid down by Fox himself as early as 1653.[3] "They say that marriage is an ordinance of God," marriage "is God's joining, not man's," "We marry none, but are witnesses of it." The man and the woman

[1] "Life," pp. 7, 23, 100, London, 1795.

[2] R. Barclay, "Apology," Prop. III., § VI. It must be confessed that Barclay himself, when he terms the Scriptures a "secondary rule," uses language likely to convey a wrong impression.

[3] "Journal," p. 315.

were to take themselves as man and wife in the presence of God's people; the clearness from all other engagements being ascertained, and consent of parents and guardians obtained.[1] The Friends were faithful to this testimony; "to such an extent did the care respecting marriages . . . prevail in the Society . . . that [in England] prior to 1790 the man had to attend twelve distinct meetings for discipline, to repeat in public his intention of marriage, and the intentions were announced twenty times prior to the solemnization of the marriage."[2]

The Friends, with no boastful feeling, but with the desire that the record should stand as a testimony and as a memorial, directed that "sufferings of Friends (of all kinds of sufferings) in all the countries be gathered up and put together and sent to the General Meeting, and so sent to London." The result has been that a remarkable and detailed record of sufferings for conscience' sake has been preserved. "The severity and extent of their sufferings is shown by the fact that during the twenty-five years of Charles the Second's reign 13,562 Friends were imprisoned in various parts of England, 198 were transported as slaves beyond seas, and 338 died in prison or of wounds received in violent assaults on their meetings."[3] This does not in-

[1] "And when they do go together, and take one another, let there not be less than a dozen friends and relations present (according to your usual order), having first acquainted the men's meeting, and they have clearness and unity with them, and that it may be recorded in a book." ("Canons and Constitutions," 1668; "The London Friends' Meetings," p. 47; Virginia MS. Records, 1673.) The Friends' meetings before giving consent to a marriage were required to see that there was no existing engagement, that there was no legal obstruction, and that if there were children of a former marriage, that their rights should be carefully protected. (See also Fox's "Journal," p. 315; Sewel, p. 667; Penn's "Rise and Progress," 7th ed., London, 1769, pp. 43 ff., also the Disciplines of the various Yearly Meetings.) At present, applications for permission to marry are made to monthly meetings, which appoint a committee to see if anything stands in the way, and on its report, if satisfactory, give permission.

Yearly Meetings; William C. Westlake, "The Sure Fou
1860, pp. 11–36; Thomas Evans, "Exposition of the F
of Friends," Philadelphia, 1828 (frequently reprinted); Wil
to Fox's "Journal," reprinted as "Rise and Progress of
Quakers," in many editions (Philadelphia, Friends' Book-s
"Apology," "Friends' Library," vol. i., pp. 109–141, P

[1] Joseph Besse, in his "Collection of the Sufferings o
Quakers" (from 1650 to 1689), used the records referre
his volumes (London, 1753) may be found the details,
chronologically arranged, with full indices. It should be s
ings of Friends did not cease with 1689, either in England
it was chiefly on account of refusal to pay tithes. Their suf
will be referred to in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY YEARS IN AMERICA.

[NOTE.—All dates before 1752 are Old Style.]

OWING to the disorders in England, the colonists of Massachusetts Bay had increased rapidly in numbers by 1656. It would naturally be supposed that, having left England largely on account of religious persecution, they would be ready to establish religious liberty in their new home. Nothing was further from their thoughts. The express purpose of their coming was to do as they pleased in regard to religious matters. Stern and unbending opponents of toleration, one of their first acts was to send back two Episcopalians. Another episode was the banishment of Roger Williams. Scarcely were they clear of him, before Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomians rose up; then the Anabaptists; "fines, imprisonment, whipping, etc.,"[1] were brought into use to clear the colony of these dangerous heretics. If the colonists felt in this way toward those differing with them who had already appeared, it is not to be wondered at that they felt still more strongly in regard to the Quakers, against whom, however, there was in 1656 no law.[2]

The first recorded visit of any Quakers to Massachusetts was that of two women, Ann Austin and Mary Fisher, who arrived in a vessel from Barbadoes in the beginning of July, 1656. As soon as Richard Bellingham, the deputy-governor, heard of their arrival, he sent "officers

[1] Neal, "New England," vol. i., p. 291.
[2] Hutchinson, "Massachusetts," vol. i., p. 197.

PERSECUTION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

ty.[1]

ıis action, however, only applied to the punishment :ath, for a year later the laws, so far as whipping, etc., concerned, were reënacted with but little modifica- In May, 1681, the death penalty was formally re- :d, and on March 23, 1681/82, the laws were sus- ed.[2] There was no whipping after 1677, though ıds suffered imprisonment for their refusal to pay s, etc. Even the Plymouth colonists made use of ping, disfranchisement, fines, banishment.[3] Friends always ready to pay their share toward the expenses e civil government, but they would not pay tithes.[4] may be said, as it has often been said, "The Quakers ght all this suffering upon themselves; why did they ude' themselves where they were not wanted?" It well be said in reply, Why should they have stayed ? They were Englishmen, with all the rights of lishmen. Wenlock Christison on his trial appealed to aws of England, asking the pertinent question, "How you power to make laws repugnant to the laws of land?" and declaring that the patent had been for- d. There is no doubt whatsoever that he was legally ect in claiming that his legal rights were violated.[5]

owden, vol. i., p. 226; Bishop, pp. 335 ff.; Neal, vol. i., p. 314; Hallo- "Quaker Invasion," pp. 55, 189–191; Besse, vol. i., preface, p. xxxii., . 225. See Whittier's poem, "The King's Missive."

Iass. Records, vol. iv., part ii., pp. 4, 19, 34, 59, 88; vol. v., pp. 60, 322.

owden, vol. i., p. 294; MS. Records, Sandwich Monthly Meeting, "8th 2, 1674, 4th mo., 4, 1675, 6th mo., 1705" ("Thos. Bowman in prison iest's rates"); Bishop, pp. 164 ff.; Bowden, vol. i., pp. 75 ff.

Iallowell, "Pioneer Quakers," p. 51; Sandwich Monthly Meeting ds, "3d mo., 9, 1712." Two Friends report that they have found out roportion between the priest's rates and town and county charge, "and riest's part, which Friends cannot pay, is near about one half, lacking third of the whole."

'or a full statement see Hallowell's "Quaker Invasion" and "Pio- Quakers"; Brooks Adams, "Emancipation of Massachusetts"; Chas.

Much has been made by Massachusetts historians and apologists of one or two women who divested themselves of the whole or part of their clothing, and then marched up and down the streets. Such apologists forget the age, and also that these acts were not done until after persecution had goaded the sufferers into what seems to this century to be a most unseemly exhibition. But while there were only two or three such episodes, the *laws* of Massachusetts passed, presumably after deliberation, directed that women should be "stripped naked from the middle up, tied to a cart's tail, and whipped through the town and from thence" to the next town and until they were conveyed out of "our jurisdiction."[1] This was done not once or twice, but again and again, most cruelly. It was a rude age, and both Friends and Puritans must be judged by the standards of the time in which they lived. The records show that the magistrates and church officers were responsible for the persecutions, for there is scarcely a single instance where the people at large manifested their approval of the cruelties practiced, while their disapproval was frequently shown.[2]

It was not until 1724 that the Quakers received the reward of their long endurance. In 1723 some Friends were appointed assessors in Dartmouth and Tiverton, and being conscientiously scrupulous of assessing taxes for the support of the ministers of the churches, were cast into prison and fined. Having made ineffectual application to the

Francis Adams, "Massachusetts, its Historians and its History." The last author discusses in a trenchant manner the spirit of the Puritans. See also Bowden, vol. i., pp. 243 ff.; Bishop, p. 337.

[1] Mass. Records, vol. iv., part ii., p. 4; Hallowell, "Quaker Invasion," p. 142; Besse, vol. ii., p. 227. George Fox and John Burnyeat, in their "New England's Fire-Brand Quenched," use this argument well, pp. 32, 184, 196, 197, 224. (Quoted in Hallowell.)

[2] The defense of the magistrates is a curious document. Mass. Records, vol. iv., part ii., p. 386; vol. v., p. 198; Gough, vol. i., p. 393, who discusses it section by section.

colonial government, they appealed to the Royal Pri
Council in England. This sustained them on all poin
remitted the heavy fines imposed, and ordered their r
lease after thirteen months' confinement. This "mar
the collapse of the effort made by the Puritans to establi
a theocracy in Massachusetts."[1] Laws exempting An
baptists and Quakers from supporting the ministers we

"to watch to inform of danger." In 1675, however, their peace principles were severely tried. The colony was asked to join with the other New England colonies in preparing for the Indian War then impending, but she, the governor being William Coddington, declined to join in the war. This course was not pleasing to the majority of the colonists of Providence Plantations. Though the latter suffered, Warwick being burnt and Providence set on fire during the war, those on the island of Rhode Island escaped.[1]

Sandwich monthly meeting (Mass.) seems to have been the first established in America,[2] and Scituate was established before 1660.[3] There is no reason for doubting that a Yearly Meeting was regularly held on Rhode Island from 1661, when it was set up.[4] This makes New England Yearly Meeting, as it was subsequently called, the oldest Yearly Meeting in the world, except that of London.

It was in 1672 that Roger Williams made his proposal for a disputation with Friends; but though Roger Williams speaks of George Fox *slyly* departing, there is no reason to suppose that Fox had not left before the challenge reached Newport. Roger Williams engaged to maintain fourteen propositions in public against all comers. He was met in debate by John Burnyeat, William Edmundson, and John Stubs in the presence of a great crowd who were gathered in the Friends' Meeting-House. Burnyeat rightly characterizes the propositions as "charges." They may be judged from the following: "2ly that ye Christ

[1] Bowden, vol. i., pp. 306 ff.; Edmundson, pp. 76 ff.

[2] The records are preserved from 1672, the first entry being "4th mo. [June] 25, 1672." These were personally examined by the writer of the present sketch.

[3] "Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections," Second Series, vol. x. (see Duxbury); also Bowden, vol. i., pp. 207, 296.

[4] Bishop, p. 251; Burnyeat, p. 47, describes the meeting in 1672. See also

yt they profess is not ye true Lord Jesus Christ. . . .
That they doe not owne ye holy Scriptures. . . . 6ly T
their Prinsipels: & profession are full of contradictions a
Hipocrisies."[1]

As Roger Williams speaks of William Edmundson
"rude," and Edmundson of him as "the bitter old ma
the dispute must have been a stirring one. Burnyeat s
Roger Williams "could not make any proof of his char
to the satisfaction of the auditory." Three days w
consumed at Newport, and one day at Providence, I
mundson and Stubs being the defenders there. Each s
was satisfied that it had gained the victory. Willia
clearly had the weaker side, as he really was very ignor
of the true views of the Society of Friends.[2] He was
silenced, however, for he wrote an account of the incid
and defended himself in "George Fox digged out of
Burrows," styled by Fox "a very envious and wicl
book."[3] This was replied to by Fox and Burnyeat
"A New England Fire-Brand Quenched." These t
books are good examples of the language which even
religious men of the seventeenth century allowed the
selves to use.[4]

Connecticut followed the example of Massachusetts, a
on the recommendation of the Council of the Uni

[1] For Roger Williams's letter and complete list, see "Historical M
zine," New York, 1858, vol. ii., p. 56.

[2] Edmundson, pp. 64 ff.; Burnyeat, p. 53; William Gammell, "Lif
Roger Williams," Sparks's "American Biography," vol. iv., Boston, 1
pp. 187–190; James D. Knowles, "Memoir of Roger Williams," Bos
Lincoln, Edwards & Co., 1834, p. 338.

[3] "Journal," p. 432. Professor Gammell says that it is "distingui
by a bitterness and severity unequaled in any other of his [Williams's] v
ings." ("Life," pp. 187–190.)

[4] Both books are rare; Williams's has, however, been reprinted. "
rows" in the punning title refers to Edward Burrough, Fox's able coadju
An account of the incident will be found in Henry M. Dexter's "As to R
Williams," Boston, 1876, but the author all through the book is very u

Colonies the General Court of Hartford passed an act similar to that of Massachusetts, October 2, 1656; this was amended so as to be more effective against "loathesome heretics, whether Quakers, Ranters, Adamites, or some others like them." In 1658 corporal punishment was added.[1] New Haven passed similar laws, and executed them more severely. Humphrey Norton, in 1657, being imprisoned was put into the stocks, flogged on his bare back till the bystanders through their strong expressions of disapproval stopped it; he was then branded deeply on his right hand with the letter H, signifying heresy, and sent back until his fines were paid, which was done by a perfect stranger, a Dutchman, out of compassion;[2] and Norton was banished in addition. Other instances of persecution took place, but none so severe.[3] Connecticut was much more liberal, but that colony never was a fruitful field for the Quaker missionaries.

The first Friends in New York appear to have been on Long Island, and to have come from Massachusetts and Connecticut. Long Island, at least as far as Oyster Bay, was under the jurisdiction of the Dutch. Gravesend was settled almost wholly by the English, some of them Anabaptists, and others refugees from the intolerance of Massachusetts. One of the most prominent was a Lady Moody, who joined the Friends and had a meeting at her house.[4]

The first Friends who visited New Amsterdam (New

treated, were discharged, but Hodgson was s
work two years at a wheelbarrow with a negr
fine of six hundred guilders. He refused to d
was most barbarously treated. Finally he w
at the intercession of the sister of Stuyves
paying a fine or working.[1] Persecution was
to visitors. Inhabitants of Long Island were
heavy fines, imprisonment, forfeiture of goods,
ment. The severe punishments ended sooner
Netherlands than in Massachusetts, for on Ap
the enlightened Directors at Amsterdam a few
the arrival in Holland of John Bowne, a bans
not only gave him permission to return, but
to Stuyvesant breathing a true spirit of toleratio
other things they said: "We very much doub
proceedings against them [the Quakers] ougl
discontinued except you intend to check and
population, which, however, in the youth of y
ought rather to be encouraged by all possible
The consciences of men, at least, ought ever to
and unshackled. Let every one be unmoleste
he is modest; as long as his conduct in a p
is irreproachable; as long as he does not distu
oppose the government. This maxim of mo

have flocked to this asylum. Tread thus in their steps, and, we doubt not, you will be blessed."[1]

Friends increased rapidly on Long Island, and were vi-

from truth into prejudice, contention, and opposition to the order of truth and to Friends therein." He would not allow the disputes to come up in the regular meetings, but appointed a special meeting for the "discontented," "where as many Friends as had a desire were present also." "The gainsayers" were confounded, and "some of those that had been chief . . . began to fawn upon me and to cast the matter upon others." The force of the schism was ended.[1]

After his visit to Rhode Island and other places in New England, already referred to, Fox returned to Long Island in the sixth month (August), and held a number of meetings at Oyster Bay, at "Rye on the Continent," at Flushing, and at Gravesend.

William Edmundson, who visited Long Island a second time in 1676, found Friends troubled with "Ranters—i.e., men and women who would come into Friends' meetings singing and dancing in a rude manner, which was a great exercise to Friends." He remained some time, and says he reclaimed many.[2]

The objection of Friends to oaths, military service, and their method of solemnizing marriages brought upon them fines, distraints, imprisonment, disfranchisement, and disqualification for holding office.[3]

The meetings in Westchester County were settled from New England, and were independent of New York until "the 14th of 4th month [June], 1695," when by the direc-

[1] "Journal," pp. 365, 366. Burnyeat names the "chief," and proved it "under his own hand," p. 46. Bowden, vol. i., pp. 329 ff.

[2] "Journal," p. 94. These "Ranters" may be the ones referred to in a petition from the inhabitants of Huntington, L. I., 1677, against Quakers who disturbed public worship. "Documentary History of New York," vol. iii., p. 209.

[3] "Documentary History of New York," vol. iii., pp. 603–612; "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York," Albany, 1856, vol. iii., p. 415; vol. v., pp. 978, 983, 984.

THE FRIENDS IN VIRGINIA.

Rhode Island, the Quakers would have found rest if not a welcome, but such was not the case. Though there are good reasons for believing that Elizabeth Harris was in Maryland during 1657, the first positively recorded visit was that of Josiah Coale and Thomas Thurston in 1658, for whose arrest a warrant was issued in July of that year, because they had been in the province over a month without taking the oath of fidelity; and two weeks later, on account of their "insolent behavior" in standing "presumptuously covered," they were forever banished, on pain of being whipped from constable to constable. Those who had entertained them and a man who had refused to assist in the arrest of Thurston were whipped.[1]

There were many refugees from Virginia in Maryland, as well as many other persons in the colony, who were without preachers. To such these earnest preachers were most welcome. In 1659 William Robinson and others visited Maryland without hindrance. But during the Claiborne troubles a militia was organized, and Friends suffered much from fines and distraints on account of their refusal to bear arms or contribute funds. The names of thirty who thus refused and the detailed account of property seized are preserved, showing that they were well-to-do.[2] In 1660 persecution ceased, and, with a slight exception in 1662, for sixteen years there was no act of in-

year 1673 by the motion and order of George ffox, the servant of God." (MS. Records Virginia Yearly Meeting.) Virginia Yearly Meeting, first held at Pagan Creek, Isle of Wight County, was afterward held at various places until 1845, when it was joined to Baltimore Yearly Meeting.

[1] Besse, vol. ii., p. 380; Neill, "Founders of Maryland," p. 131; Archives of Maryland, Proceedings of Council, 1636–67, pp. 348–353, 364, 494; J. Saurin Norris, "The Early Friends in Maryland," Md. Historical Society, Baltimore, 1862, pp. 6–9; J. Thomas Scharf, "History of Maryland," vol. i., p. 268.

[2] Besse, vol. ii., pp. 378 ff.; Neill, "Founders of Maryland," p. 149.

Fox with several brethren came from J
at Pertuxon, and from thence came str
ing." There was a very large meetin
for several days, and "a men-and-wo
the settling of things was set up. . . .
fully open the service thereof unto Fri
gladness of heart received advice in such
This meeting, the first for discipline in
beginning of what was afterward known
Meeting, and has been held regularly e
Fox held meetings and established mee
at various places on both sides of Ches
interesting episode of this visit was the
Indians. He had two "good opportuni
emperor and his kings" on the easte
listened to with the deepest attention.
New England he visited Maryland, in 1
second time, when he held many meeti
the Indians. The meetings among
largely attended, sometimes a thousa
His account of this journey is most gra

"His labors had been incessant; n
nor the burning sun detained. He fo
in the woods and in barns with as mucl

comfortable houses of his friends, and was truly a wonder unto many."[1]

Fox's visit appears to have been the occasion of starting a regular correspondence, first between the Friends of England and America, then of America as well.[2]

The sufferings of Friends in Maryland were small in comparison with those in other colonies, and the fines and imprisonments which they underwent were almost wholly on account of their testimonies against tithes, oaths, and military services. From 1674 until they gained, in 1702, the privileges they sought, petition after petition in regard to oaths was made to the Assembly and Council, and more than once favorably considered by one or both bodies, only to be ignored or refused by the proprietaries.[3] Meantime the Friends grew in numbers and in influence, so strong, indeed, that largely through their opposition the act for the establishment of the Protestant religion, in 1691, was rendered inoperative; an act passed in 1694 forbidding the Roman Catholic worship was repealed in 1695, through their influence and that of the Romanists. Again, these two bodies used all their power to prevent the Episcopal Church being made the established church, but were only partly successful. The Friends were more successful in February, 1702/3, in getting the law modified as far as "Protestant dissenters and Quakers" were concerned.[4]

[1] Neill, "Founders of Maryland," p. 145.

[2] Bristol Friends wrote to those of Maryland, "24th of 9th mo. [November] 1673." (Bowden, vol. i., pp. 355, 377.) This epistolary correspondence has been kept up to the present day.

The first Friends in New Jersey appear to have settled along the Raritan River in 1663; in 1670 a meeting was settled at Shrewsbury, where a meeting-house was built; in 1672 George Fox and his companions visited the Friends at this place and also at Middletown.[1]

In 1674 Berkeley, one of the proprietors, sold his half of the province of New Jersey to John Fenwicke and Edward Billinge for £1000. Both of these men were members of the Society of Friends, and there is some reason to think that the acquisition was made for the benefit of the Society at large. A difference having arisen between these two men, William Penn was chosen arbitrator, who made an award. Edward Billinge became embarrassed in his circumstances, and he assigned his property to three of his fellow-members, one of whom was William Penn. This was the beginning of William Penn's personal interest in America. The subsequent circumstances which led to the division of New Jersey into East and West Jersey and the disputes with Fenwicke cannot be entered into here. John Fenwicke with a company of emigrants landed June, 1675, on the shores of Delaware Bay, at a place they named Salem. Meantime William Penn and his co-proprietors issued a statement of their views in regard to the government of the province. They said: "Thus we lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as men and Christians, that they may not be brought into bondage but by their own consent; for we put the power in the people. . . . No person to be called in question or molested for his conscience or for worshiping according to his conscience."[2] The charter of West New Jersey, known as the "Concessions and Agreements, etc.," dated "3rd

[1] "Journal," pp. 365, 370; Burnyeat, p. 45; Edmundson, p. 92.
[2] S. Smith, "History of New Jersey," p. 80; New Jersey Archives, vol. i., p. 228. See also Edmundson, pp. 92, 94.

day of March, 1676/7," consisting of forty-four chapters, is drawn up in the spirit of the words just quoted.[1]

In 1677 two hundred and thirty Friends emigrated in a body to the new province; so striking a circumstance as this attracted even royal attention, and it is said that as the ship was about sailing King Charles II., who was "in his barge pleasuring on the Thames, came alongside and gave them his blessing."[2]

The emigrants from this ship founded Burlington in 1677; other emigrants followed, so that by 1681 fourteen hundred had come thither, mostly Friends. Their just treatment of the Indians not only secured them from molestation, but brought them supplies of maize and venison. They were "zealous in performing their religious service, for, having at first no meeting-house to keep public meeting in, they made a tent or covert of sail-cloth to meet under"; they then met in private houses until a meeting-house could be built.[3] By common agreement, "for the well ordering of the affairs of the church" a monthly meeting was set up "the 15th of the 5th month [July], 1678." At the next meeting "it was agreed that a collection be made once a month for the relief of the poor and such other necessary uses as may occur, . . . to be collected the First day before the Monthly Meeting."[4] On "the 4th of 7 month [September] 1679," "it was also desired that Friends would consider the matter as touching the selling of Rum unto Indians [if it] be lawful at all for Friends professing truth to be concerned in it."[5] The earliest Epistle from an American meeting to the Yearly

[1] New Jersey Archives, vol. i., pp. 241 ff.; Smith, Appendix, pp. 521 ff.
[2] Smith, p. 92.

THE FRIENDS IN THE CAROLINAS.

that Friends were established there.[1] Though some of the inhabitants may have been religious refugees from Virginia, the accounts of Fox and of Edmundson do not convey that impression. The early Quakers in North Carolina appear to have been originally persons without religion, and to have been first converted through the efforts of these missionaries.[2]

Monthly and quarterly meetings were set up probably as early as 1680, and George Fox, writing in 1681, advises the establishment of a Half-Yearly or Yearly Meeting.[3] In 1698 the Yearly Meeting was set up, and from that date to the present has been held regularly. The settlements were at first on or near Albemarle Sound, but as the colony increased in population the Friends spread, not only in the northern part of the province but in the southern, for we find Fox addressing an Epistle to Friends in Charleston, 1683, in answer to one sent by them to him during the previous year.[4] During the seventeenth century there was perfect religious liberty in the Carolinas, and, as in Rhode Island, Friends were very influential. They reached the height of their influence under the administration of John Archdale, himself a Friend. The history of this remarkable man has been too much neglected. He appears to have become a Friend under the preaching of George Fox. He was elected governor by the proprietaries, his declaration being accepted in place of the

[1] Edmundson, pp. 99 ff.

[2] Bowden, vol. i., pp. 408 ff.; Stephen B. Weeks, "The Religious Development in the Province of North Carolina," "Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science," Tenth Series, Baltimore, 1892, pp. 22 ff.

PENNSYLVANIA.

made preparations for the establishment of the new colony. No founder of a State ever placed before himself a nobler object than did Penn. He desired "to establish a just and righteous [government] in this province, that others may take example by it. . . . The nations want a precedent. . . . I . . . desire that we may do the thing that is truly wise and just." Again: "There may be room there, though not here, for such an holy experiment."[1] In accord with these fundamental principles, he prepared and published his well-known Frame of Government, an admirable document, of which, though he took counsel of others, he was unquestionably the chief author.[2] In the preface he lays down the maxim: "Any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws; and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion." What he meant was shown by his words in one of his early letters respecting the province: "I propose . . . to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of an whole country."[3]

In examining the Frame of Government, and particularly Penn's charter, it must be remembered that he could not do exactly as he wished: as in the case of the death penalty, and in his having command of the militia, etc.[4]

In addition to Pennsylvania Penn acquired from the Duke of York, as a gift, nearly what is now the State of Delaware.[5] The reputation of William Penn attracted a

[1] Proud, vol. i., p. 160; Janney, p. 175.

[2] Dixon tries to show that he was greatly indebted to Algernon Sidney; but see Janney, p. 193; Stoughton, p. 177; "Penns and Peningtons," p. 333.

[3] Janney, pp. 187, 172; Proud, vol. ii., Appendix II.; Colonial Records, vol. i.; Hazard, "Annals of Pennsylvania," pp. 558 ff.

[4] Sections v., xvi. These documents are printed in full in Proud, Hazard's "Annals," and Colonial Records.

1681, but resolved to go himself, w
After a voyage of about two mont
smallpox broke out on the ship, the
off New Castle October 27th. On
reached Upland (now Chester), withi
province. He proceeded at once to
ment. Philadelphia had been first l
September, 1682, and "before Penn
1684 had three hundred and fifty-se
them three stories high." "In 168
established his printing-press in Phi
the Middle Colonies."[2] Penn found
other things he visited Lord Baltimo
the boundaries between Pennsylvani
the effort was unsuccessful. Nor
agreed upon until the running of Mas
in 1762.[3] Penn also visited New Y
attended the Yearly Meeting in Mar
to England in 1684, impelled thereto

[1] Watson, "Annals of Philadelphia;" Hazard
[2] Stone, p. 493; Proud, vol. i., pp. 233, 24
(Penn's Concessions).
[3] The real trouble lay in the ignorance of t
American geography, which gave rise to many
colonies. Penn was probably right if the spirit o

affecting his reputation, and others affecting his province and the Society of his adoption. No colony in America had advanced so rapidly; schools and a printing-press had been established, and a population of seven thousand collected in less than three years. One of the earliest matters to give Penn concern was the just treatment of the Indians; before he went out he had refused a large offer for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians, and had written instructions to his commissioners regarding the natives, writing also an Epistle to the latter. He cherished hopes of civilizing them and preserving amicable relations with them, providing the differences between them and the settlers should be settled by arbitration. He did not believe that his charter extinguished their rights to the land, but purchased from them the land before occupation.[1]

The exact provisions of the famous treaty at Shackamaxon are somewhat problematical, but there is no doubt that the common tradition preserves the spirit of the interview and Penn's high purposes.[2]

The majority of colonists at first were Friends from England and Wales, but there were also a number from Germany, among them some from Kriesheim, Germany, near Worms. According to Sewel these were converted by William Ames, one of the early Quaker missionaries, who visited the Palatinate in 1659. "On the settlement of Pennsylvania in America . . . they unanimously went thither."[3] They settled at a place they called German-

[1] Proud, vol. i., pp. 211–215, 300; Hazard's "Annals," pp. 519, 532, 581, 595; Bowden, vol. ii., pp. 57 ff. Penn is said to have given in all about £20,000 to the Indians. (Bowden, vol. ii., p. 72.)

[2] Stone, in Winsor, vol iii., p. 513, and "Pennsylvania Magazine of History," vol. vi., p. 217; Janney, p. 213. The well-known picture of West gives a totally wrong idea of Penn's appearance; far from being a portly, middle-aged man, he was only thirty-eight years old, athletic, active, and graceful.

town. Such was the origin of this well-known division of Philadelphia. Among the Germans was Francis Daniel Pastorius, the hero of Whittier's "Pennsylvania Pilgrim."

It would be interesting to give the history of this experiment in government in Pennsylvania, but the limits of this sketch and its character forbid it. Suffice it to say that though the proprietor and his government were not without great trials and testings, if prosperity, peace with the Indians, and development are any criterion, Penn's experiment must be pronounced a success, at least for the first ten years. Under Penn's deputies and the royal administration there was much political disorder, but in spite of this the colony developed satisfactorily in material prosperity, so that in 1700 it was one of the most prosperous of all the English colonies.

"Our first concern was to keep up and maintain our religious worship," so writes one of Penn's companions on the "Welcome."[1] The meetings were first held in private houses, but meeting-houses were soon built. The first monthly meeting was held "the 9th day of the Eleventh month [January, 1682/83], being the third day of the week, 1682," "and every third meeting shall be the Quarterly Meeting." Within three months nine meetings for worship and three monthly meetings had been set up. There were a few Friends in the province before Penn acquired it, and there appears to have been a monthly meeting at Upland (Chester) in 1681.[2]

1 Richard Townsend. Proud, vol. i., p. 229; Bowden, vol. ii., p. 17.

2 Bowden, vol. ii., p. 19; Michener, p. 50. There is an account of these early settlers, some of them claiming to be Friends, in the "Journal" of Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter (Long Island Historical Society Publications, vol. i., Brooklyn, 1867). There is no doubt from the description that they were of those who had "run out from the truth," and who gave Fox, Edmundson, and Burnyeat so much concern. As this account has been recently quoted as a fair description of the Friends of this period (Browne's "Maryland," p. 135), this notice seems called for.

The Friends of the new colony attended the Yearly Meeting at Burlington, and in 1683 a proposition was made that there should be a Yearly Meeting for Friends of all the North American colonies; but this was not acceptable to the other bodies of Friends, and nothing came of it. Yearly Meetings were held in Philadelphia during 1683 and 1684, and an effort was made, by sending Epistles to "Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and all thereaway; also the other way to New England and Rhode Island," to induce the distant Friends to send two or three delegates to Philadelphia as a center. Women Friends also held a Yearly Meeting, and sent an Epistle to the Women Friends of England.[1] In 1685 it was concluded that the Yearly Meeting should be held alternately at Burlington and Philadelphia; a Yearly Meeting of ministers was also ar-

is schism shook the Society in the Middle Colonies, and o in England, to its foundations. There was much acri-ony exhibited on both sides, but Keith seems to have een violent in his language and overbearing in his manner. o his opponents he certainly appeared to be an "apostate," nd it is not unnatural that they should have used strong anguage. He accused two ministers of teaching that the inward Christ alone was sufficient for salvation; he charged that the discipline was lax; that Friends had departed from their testimony and practice against war; he wished changes made in various ways; and openly in a meeting accused Friends of meeting together "to cloak heresies and deceit." There is no doubt that some of his charges were true as to individuals and that there was some truth in others, but the way in which they were preferred, and their wholesale character, was, to say the least, altogether out of order, while in others his charges were without foundation. The documents issued officially by the Society in England (see p. 201) and in America show incontestably, that, whatever individuals might say, the Friends in 1693, as a body, were sound on the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion.[1]

disowned in London also. This action was without precedent, and it is likely that the English Friends only took cognizance of the case because the schism had extended to England. Keith joined the Church of England in 1700, was ordained, and in 1702 was sent to America by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. His mission was not a success so far as converting the Quakers was concerned. After an absence of about two years he returned, was given a living in Sussex, where he died in 1716. He was particularly bitter against his old associate Penn. Croese, book i., p. 150; book ii., p. 164, and Appendix; Sewel, pp. 504, 510, 535, 616, 636, 648, 664; Gough, vol. iii., chaps. vi., viii., xiii.; Dickinson, p. 52; Wilson, p. 32; Bownas, pp. 54 ff.; Bowden, vol. ii., chap. iv.; Smith, "History of Pennsylvania" in Hazard's "Register of Pennsylvania," vol. vi., pp. 242 ff.; Turner, chap. xiv.; Burnet, "History of His Own Time," p. 670, London, Reeves & Turner (1883); see also "George Keith," Dictionary of National Biography, London and New York, Macmillan & Co., 1892.

[1] "A Confession of Faith," etc. "Given forth from the Yearly Meeting at Burlington, the 7th of 7th moneth, 1692." Printed and sold by William Bradford in Philadelphia, 1693 (2d ed.). "The Christian Doctrine and

Keith's followers set up a new organization, called the "Christian Quakers and Friends," but the organization did not last very long. Keith's connection with political matters must be passed over, as well as the general political matters of the colony. The colony was taken possession of by the crown, mainly on account of the refusal of the Assembly to vote any money for military purposes, though Penn's arrest for treason, and the Keith disorders had their influence in bringing it about. The colony was restored to Penn in 1694. It has been claimed that he did not at that time object to granting money or men for the defense of the frontier, but it appears that he simply said he would transmit to the Assembly "all orders that the crown might issue for the safety and security of the province."[1]

The Society continued to increase in numbers, so that in 1700 there were forty individual meetings or congregations. There were many Welsh settlers, who took up land to the north and west of Philadelphia, and a number of meetings were established among them.

Thus the seventeenth century closed with congregations of Friends established in all of the colonies under the English rule, while in Pennsylvania they were the controlling element, and in the Jerseys and Maryland they had much influence in modifying legislation.

Society of the People called Quakers, cleared, etc.," Sewel, pp. 619-626; "Christian Doctrine," etc., pp. 6 ff. (in part); Barclay, "Inner Life" (p. 375, note), says that Keith was disowned "for his unbearable temper and carriage." The London Epistle for 1695 speaks of "G. K." as continuing in "the same spirit of discord and opposition." ("Epistles," vol. i., p. 82.) For the account of an eye witness in London; [John Whiting] "Persecution Expos'd," etc., London, Assigns of J. Sowle, 1715, p. 231. For a graphic account of a personal dispute with George Keith at Lynn, Mass.; Journal of John Richardson, Philadelphia, Joseph Crukshank, 1783, pp. 103-127.

[1] Bowden, vol. ii., p. 134; Janney, chap. xxviii., p. 395; Proud, vol. i., chaps. xi.-xiii.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

It will be impracticable to describe in detail the progress of the Society during the eighteenth century, nor is it needful, for there are no essential features of difference in any one part of the country. During the earlier years of the century, Friends, except where the privileges had been attained, were striving to obtain relief from the imposition of taxes for the support of a state church, from the requirement of taking judicial oaths, and from contributing directly to the support of the army. Their success in these respects in Massachusetts, Maryland, and North Carolina has been already referred to, and, with the exception of military service, most of the privileges sought were acquired. In Pennsylvania, owing to the increase of immigrants belonging to other denominations, to the colonial wars, and to the dissatisfaction of the English Government with the peace principles of the Quakers, the majority of Friends in the Assembly decreased, until in 1756 six Friends vacated their seats in the Assembly, and at the next election others declined to be candidates. And from this time Friends discouraged members of the Society from holding any office.[1] The exact time when the

[1] Colonial Records, vol. vii., pp. 82, 84, 86, 292; Archives, vols. v., vi.; Hazard's "Register," vol. v., p. 115; "The Friend" (Philadelphia), vols. xix., xx.; Thomas F. Gordon, "History of Pennsylvania," Philadelphia, Carey, Lea & Carey, 1829, pp. 281, 321 ff., 330 ff.; Bowden, vol. ii., pp. 278 ff.; A. C. Applegarth, in "Johns Hopkins University Studies," vol. x. pp. 427 ff.; Michener, pp. 274, 281; "Memoirs of Samuel Fothergill," pp.

political control of the Quakers ceased in Pennsylvania is hard to determine.

The troubles in 1754 and 1755 led to the establishment in 1756 of the first "Meeting for Sufferings" in America. Its object primarily was to extend relief and assistance to Friends on the frontiers who might suffer from the Indians or other enemies, to represent the Yearly Meeting, and to look out for the interests of the Society, etc., but not to "meddle with matters of faith or discipline."[1]

The Society of Friends continued to grow in the various colonies during the first half of the century, but it is difficult to arrive at a satisfactory estimate of the total number of members. In 1700 the members in England and Wales have been estimated at about 66,000.[2] The estimates about 1760 of the number of Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey would make the number of Friends in America toward 50,000, perhaps more.[3] But it is impossible to give accurate data. Bownas, who visited America in 1702, and again in 1726, notices the great increase in numbers during the intervening period, and speaks of several meetings of fifteen hundred people.[4] With the cessation of persecution and the increase of the number of adherents had come laxity in regard to the good order of the Society, and a declension in spiritual life. This was true of England as well. The journals or lives of

Bownas remarks, to run to form rat
the power and life." There was a
amount of secular business transact
discipline; the dress and manner of
as much if not more attention than
of the church.[7] In 1755, in New
great awakening took place. All
their right of membership were set a
to make new applications for admiss
to the state of the church were d
Meetings to be answered, and th
Yearly Meeting, and there was a g
the church-membership. The co
rules of order soon became a Discip
extended throughout the Society,
ning of the rigid rules of order which
it. As has been well said: "The i
the Discipline, valuable and import
often associated with too rigid an ad
a tendency to multiply rules, and to
ing of them out, in a degree at least

1 "Life," p. 139.
2 "Memoirs of Samuel Fothergill," Liverp
187, 214, 280 (a long account of the meetings i

patient and discriminating wisdom, tempered with love, which should ever characterize Christian discipline."[1]

Now began the general expulsion of members for marrying non-members, the severe rules in regard to dress and language, and many of those customs and outward practices which a later generation has supposed were peculiar to Friends from their foundation.

There had been various Rules of Discipline observed in England,[2] but no Book of Discipline, as such, had been adopted by the Yearly Meetings until 1738, when a manuscript Book of Rules was sent down from the Yearly Meeting in London to the quarterly meetings. This consisted of quotations from the minutes of the Yearly Meeting and from "Advices" given forth at various times.[3] In America the "Canons and Institutions" (p. 200) or a modification of them were in general use, and though there were rules of "good order of truth" adopted by the Virginia Yearly Meeting in 1702, and seventeen "Queries" adopted in 1722, these were not a formal Book of Discipline.[4] Nor is it likely that the references in the Philadelphia Records in 1707 and 1711 refer to anything more.[5] The regular Books of Discipline appear to have been generally adopted about 1759,[6] but they were all in manuscript.[7] With the

[1] J. B. Braithwaite, "Memoirs of J. J. Gurney," vol. ii., p. 13.

[2] See "Treatise Concerning Christian Discipline, Compiled with the Advice of a National Meeting of the People called Quakers held in Dublin, in the Year 1746," by John Rutty, M.D. Printed in the year 1752.

[3] Barclay, "Inner Life," p. 527. It was not until 1783 that this collection was printed. (London, James Phillips, 1783.) It has been the basis of all subsequent editions and "Disciplines" issued by the English Friends.

[4] Virginia MS. Records, "21st to 23d of 7th mo. [Sept.] 1722."

[5] Michener, pp. 250 ff.

option and strict carrying out of a system of outward les came an almost total cessation of aggressive efforts spread the doctrines of the Society, and even of missionary efforts. The visits of ministers from the Old World or from the various parts of America were almost wholly confined to the established congregations, and their service to warning, exhorting, or encouraging the members to be faithful to the "testimonies"; not that the gospel was not preached, nor the shortcomings seen, but the remedy was thought to be a fuller support of the Discipline. In other words, the "policy was purely defensive; they placed great reliance upon penalties as a means for preventing misconduct, and they endeavored to erect external barriers against the contamination of the world." They were truly philanthropic, and, as will be seen, advocated earnestly the cause of the Indian and the slave. But their spirit in spreading the gospel was widely different from that of their predecessors of the seventeenth century. Never, perhaps, has there been a better example to illustrate the fact that a church which is not aggressive is sure to decline. When the records are examined and the lists of disownments for "marrying out" and for external infractions of the Discipline are read, the wonder is that there was any Society left; well has the period been termed the "middle age of Quakerism." Not till the nineteenth century was there an abatement of this policy. Another serious result must be noticed. There grew up an idea that internal guidance alone was essential, and this led to a depreciation of the importance of the Scriptures and of the ministry of the Word. This is shown by the decrease in the number of the ministers and the great increase in the number of the elders and over-

that of London, 1783, and those of the neighboring Yearly Meetings, and printed it 1785. Philadelphia followed in 1797.

seers.[1] For fifty years or more there was no regular membership; those who attended the meetings and were believed to be converted and to hold the views of the Society were deemed members. Such were invited to sit in the "men's meetings" (meetings for discipline), and also the children of such when old enough and thought suitable.[2] Lists of such persons were made out and kept,[3] and such as behaved disorderly were "denied," "disowned," that is, expelled. It was not until 1737 that positive legislation on membership was enacted by London Yearly Meeting. The occasion which brought it about was the difficulty in determining who were the "poor," and it was determined that: "All Friends shall be deemed members of the Quarterly, Monthly, and Two-Weeks Meeting within the compass of which they inhabited or dwelt the 1st day of the Fourth Month, 1737"; and "the wife and *children* to be deemed members of the Monthly Meeting of which the husband or father is a member, not only during his life but after his decease."[4] Such is the minute which fixed upon the Society the peculiarity of "Birth-

[1] Elders appear to have been first appointed in England in 1727, and overseers in 1752, and probably about the same time in America. In the early days, elder and minister were often synonymous, and in New England in 1728 an overseer appears to have been equivalent to the modern elder. (See also Rutty's "Discipline," pp. 26 ff.) Though Philadelphia as early as 1714 appointed elders "to sit with the ministering friends," the name appears to have been used in its popular sense. (Barclay, "Inner Life," pp. 523, 527; Sandwich Records, "1st Mo. 24, 1728–29"; Michener, pp. 169 ff.) It should be said that persons with some of the duties of overseers were appointed as early as 1668, but the "overseer" as now understood was not appointed until 1752.

[2] "When about twenty years of age I was invited by Friends to be a member of the men's meeting in Cork" (1677). ("Life of Joseph Pike," by John Barclay, London, Darton & Harvey, 1837, p. 39; see also pp. 40, 131; Barclay, "Inner Life," pp. 361 ff.)

[3] Beck and Ball, pp. 253, 254; W. Tanner, "Lectures on the Early History of the Society of Friends in Bristol and Somersetshire," London, A. W. Bennett, 1858, pp. 63 ff.

[4] Barclay, "Inner Life," p. 520; Rowntree, p. 112. It should be said that Friends from the earliest days have taken care of their own poor.

was believed to be converted; now meml
number had no connection with conv
effect was to lessen the desire to prosé
an open question with many whether "
bership" has not been an evil.[1] This ru
America probably about 1755, when t
Discipline took place.

It remains to notice three important
which the Friends of the seventeenth
deepest interest, and one which was th
suffering—relations to the Indians, rel
and the American Revolution.

The feelings of George Fox toward
already been referred to. In his travels
of meetings with them, and after his ret
to America wrote to Friends in that cou
to preach the gospel to the natives.[2] T
aries frequently had meetings with the
intercourse between the natives and F
without exception friendly. Penn's tre
the Jerseys and afterward in Pennsylva
common history.[3] It is stated that fr

[1] See "Friends' Quarterly Examiner," London,

£8366 were expended for the benefit of the Indians in Pennsylvania. Great efforts were made to prevent the sale of liquor to them, and to prevent cheating in trade. "Strict amity between the Indians and the first and early settlers of Pennsylvania and New Jersey and their successors [lasted] for above seventy years."[1] The first serious hostilities were in 1755, and were contemporaneous with the retirement of the Friends from political supremacy. The Friends did not cease their efforts for the amelioration of the natives. They were visited from time to time by traveling Friends,[2] and in 1756 an association was formed for "gaining and preserving peace with the Indians by pacific measures." Friends also believed it right to be present when treaties were being negotiated, to influence right treatment if nothing else. They were charged with abetting the Indian enemies of the province, and greatly slandered.[3] The Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia again and again had the Indians under consideration, and also addressed Epistles to them, and later established schools and missions for them, the first near the New York and Pennsylvania boundary line near the Alleghany River; later still (1803) a mission was established at Tunessasa, which still exists (1894). The interest was not confined to Pennsylvania, but was felt in Maryland, New York, and New England as well, where committees were appointed and active work done.[4]

Studies," vol. x., pp. 450 ff.; Colonial Records, Pa., vols. i., ii., iii.; Winsor, vol. iii., pp. 473, 489; "Historical Magazine," vol. vi., p. 64; "Journal" of John Richardson, Philadelphia, 1783, pp. 123 ff. (an interesting description by a spectator of one of Penn's treaties with the Indians); "Journal" of Joseph Oxley, London, 1837, p. 323.

[1] Proud, vol. ii., p. 325.

[2] John Woolman, "Journal," p. 144 (1763).

[3] "The Friend" (Philadelphia), vol. xx., pp. 13 ff.

[4] For an extended account see "North American Indians and Friends . . . to the year 1843," London, Edward Marsh, 1844; Bowden, vol. ii., chap. iii.; see also the various volumes of "The Friend" (Philadelphia).

The position of the Society as to slavery for a long time was, like that of the other religious bodies of the day, toleration. George Fox first came into contact with slavery in 1671 at Barbadoes, and his heart was stirred up against the sinfulness of the slave-trade and filled with compassion for the slave. He regarded the slave as a man, and plainly told the slaveholders that if they were in the condition of their slaves they would consider it "very great bondage and cruelty." He also urged that negroes should be dealt with "mildly and gently," and after certain years of servitude be set free. His Epistles to America frequently urge upon Friends to preach the gospel to them, coupling them with the Indians.[1] William Edmundson, in 1675, at Barbadoes preached to the negroes, and also told the governor that Christ had died for them as for all men.[2] William Penn in the articles of "The Free Society of Traders" (1682) provided for the freedom of negro slaves after fourteen years' service.[3] But, like the Friends generally, he seems to have adopted the custom and owned slaves, and, through no fault of his own, died a slave-owner, his purpose and directions to set his slaves free not having been complied with.[4] The negroes were well treated by the Friends, Penn particularly exerting himself on their behalf.[5] But the most decided effort on behalf of the slave was made by the German Friends, already mentioned (p. 230), who at a "meeting at Germantown held the 18th of the Second Month [April], 1688," addressed

[1] "Journal," p. 354; "Epistle" 355 (p. 406); "The Friend" (Philadelphia), vol. xvii., p. 29.
[2] "Journal," pp. 71 ff.

against handling "men as cattle." To the monthly meeting this was "so weighty" that it was referred to the quarterly meeting, and further referred to the Yearly Meeting the same year, which records: "A paper was presented by some German Friends concerning the lawfulness and unlawfulness of buying and keeping negroes. It was adjudged not to be proper for this meeting to give a positive judgment in the case, it having so general a relation to many other parts; and therefore at present they forbear it." This document is believed to be the first official protest of any religious body against slavery.[1] This action of the sturdy Germans was not without effect, for in 1693 it was advised that no slaves should be bought "except to set free," and in 1696 the Yearly Meeting advised Friends "not to encourage the bringing in of any more negroes," and also that they should be brought to meetings, and in other respects well cared for. After this, at the instance of Penn himself, laws were passed by the Assembly designed to improve their moral condition; and after he had left, laws were enacted to restrict the importation of slaves into the province, and in 1711 their importation was absolutely prohibited. The law was not, however, acceptable to the Council in England, and it was rejected by that body, as was also another law imposing a prohibitive duty of twenty pounds per head on every slave imported. The Pennsylvania Friends continued to agitate the subject among themselves, but though individuals and different monthly meetings felt strongly, the Yearly Meeting would not commit itself to any positive action. Among those who were earnest in the cause were Ralph

[1] Michener, pp. 331 ff.; Bowden, vol. ii., pp. 192 ff. "The Friend" (Philadelphia), vol. xvii., p. 125; "Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography," vol. iv., p. 28, where the document is given in full.

1729, the eccentric Benjamin Lay, and Anthony Benezet, who were untiring in their efforts, by their lives, their mouths, and their pens.

The most noted apostle of freedom to the slave, as well as the most attractive, was John Woolman, whose simple "Journal" has charmed thousands. To his faithful efforts was largely due the action of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1758, which directed a "visitation" of all who held slaves, and decided that all who should "be concerned in importing, selling, or purchasing slaves" should be forbidden to sit in meetings for discipline. It was not, however, until 1776 that slaveholders were to be "disowned" (expelled) if they refused to manumit their slaves. New England Friends in 1758 and 1769 passed strong "minutes" in regard to slavery, and in 1772 Friends were "disowned" for not setting their slaves free; in 1782 no slaves were known to be held by members of that meeting. In New York it was made in 1776 a disciplinary offense to buy, sell, or hold slaves. In Virginia the steps taken were somewhat similar to those in Pennsylvania, but in 1784 meetings were directed to disown those who refused to manumit their slaves. Baltimore Yearly Meeting took similar action in 1777. "In the year 1787 there was not a slave in the possession of an acknowledged Quaker." The interest in the negroes and in the slaves in the slave States did not diminish, but for the negro, as for the Indian, the Society has retained a deep interest ever since.[1]

[1] Authorities for the foregoing paragraphs: "The Friend" (Philadelphia), vols. xvi., xvii.; Bowden, vol. ii., chap. viii.; "Memoirs of Pennsylvania Historical Society," vol. i., pp. 366 ff.; A. C. Applegarth, "Johns Hopkins University Studies," vol. x., pp. 447 ff.; Clarkson, "History of the Slave Trade"; John G. Whittier, "Introduction to Journal of John Woolman"; Roberts Vaux, "Lives of Sandiford and Lay"; "Journal" of John Woolman; "Journal" of John Churchman; Michener, pp. 328 ff. It should

As in England so in America, Friends deprecated any appeal to arms for the settlement of difficulties. Reference has already been made to this in the case of Pennsylvania in 1755. In 1775 they took the same position. Besides their "testimony against war," they had always upheld the doctrine of submission to the powers that be, where conscience did not forbid. It was therefore fully in accord with practice and principle that Philadelphia Yearly Meeting should do all in its power to prevent its members from countenancing the approaching warlike struggle with England. Addresses were issued to its own members, and to the people at large, setting forth their views. In 1776 representatives from New England, Virginia, and North Carolina attended Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to consult on the course to be pursued. With few exceptions, the members of the Society everywhere did their best to remain neutral, the object being to avoid *all warlike* measures. That they were in sympathy with the desires of their fellow-citizens to obtain redress of grievances is shown by the fact that in one of the non-importation agreements of 1765 fifty of the signers were Friends. But it was natural that their testimonies and addresses against war and their peaceable habits during times of great excitement should cause suspicion, and that many should misunderstand their position. It is altogether likely also that a considerable number of the Society, particularly in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, really disapproved of severing the bonds uniting the colonies with the mother-country. In consequence of these circumstances the sufferings of the Friends were great, especially so in Pennsylvania, where they might have expected more consideration. Refusing to serve in the army, their property was seized to pay for substitutes;

FRIENDS AND THE REVOLUTION.

ıld be remembered that the titles in this chapter are used sim rpose of distinction, and are those which are employed in the Uni ısus of 1890. As all divisions claim the name of Friends, sc e this is necessary.]

The Separation of 1827–28.

separation of 1827–28 sharply divides the earl of Friends from the later. The Society, whi now presented an almost unbroken front, was into two parts, each sufficiently large to maintai ɛ existence, and each claiming to be the origi

ıg the latter years of the eighteenth and the earl of the nineteenth century the attention of Frie :n more engrossed with the enforcement of the D and the carrying out of certain moral reforms th ıestions of doctrine or with evangelization. T ınd overseers gradually exercised more and m ty, till they, with a few of the more weighty me rtually controlled the Society.

general way the reading of the Scriptures was c :d, but it was before the time of low-priced Bibl

read it when inwardly moved to do so; and some objected to "fixing times" for reading, as being a lifeless form.[1] The lack of biblical knowledge which naturally resulted from this was not supplied by any definite teaching. Bible-schools were not yet known, and the task of instructing the children was left almost entirely to the parents, who too often did not attend to the duty, partly from the fear of interfering with the work of the Spirit in the hearts of their children.[2]

The ministry was largely hortatory, and many meetings were held in absolute silence. While there is abundant evidence that there were among the Friends during the whole of this period able ministers and experienced Christians who were careful of the younger members, nevertheless the condition of spiritual life throughout the body was low, and a large proportion were Friends rather by tradition than conviction, and many were careless and some unbelieving. The soil was therefore prepared for the introduction of almost any new opinions that might be plausibly presented.

The most prominent person connected with the separation of 1827–28 was Elias Hicks, an eloquent and popular minister of Long Island, N. Y.[3] He was a man of powerful build, commanding person, and indomitable will. He had only an elementary education. His mind was strong, logical, intense, and practical, rather than broad or deep. His personal influence was great and lasting, and where he labored most his following was greatest.

[1] This was the view of Elias Hicks. (See Foster's "Report," vol. ii., pp. 420, 421.)

[2] "Memoir of Rachel Hicks," p. 34.

[3] He was born in Hempstead Township, Long Island, N. Y., in 1748. His father joined the Friends soon after the birth of this son, and it is probable that Elias Hicks was received into membership about that time. He traveled much as a preacher, his last journey being when he was eighty years of age. He died in 1830. (See "Journal.")

As his teachings became the subject of much controversy, it is necessary to go into them rather fully, in order that the reader may understand the ground taken by those who objected to him. It must be clearly understood, however, that that body of Friends generally called by his name has never formally accepted his doctrine, and many of its members hold very different views.[1]

There were two sides to his teaching: the practical, which for many years formed the greater part of his preaching; and the speculative. He was an ascetic, condemning all amusements, as such, saying that even to put on a ribbon to gratify one's self was to worship it rather than the Almighty.[2]

His central position was that "God is a Spirit," that a manifestation of his Spirit is given to every man everywhere, and that this alone, if followed and obeyed, is sufficient for his salvation. This thought so possessed his mind that he came to think that everything outward was not only non-essential, but carnal. He went to the logical extent of the theory, and held that the coming and work of Christ Jesus in the flesh, the Scriptures, and all outward teaching were to be classed among the outward things and therefore in no sense essential. The "Light within" was, he taught, the only light that any one need follow.[3] The Scriptures can do no more than direct to this inward prin-

[1] Writers of all parties agree that for a number of years he was a sound and able preacher. The controversy arose in the latter part of his life.

[2] "Philadelphia Sermons," p. 133. Over a thousand printed pages of his sermons were taken down stenographically and printed by M. T. C. Gould, but they all belong to the period of the controversy. While Hicks at first refused to assume any responsibility for these ("Philadelphia Sermons," Advertisement, p. 4), he afterward expressed general satisfaction with them ("The Quaker," vol. iv., p. vii.), and near the close of his life writes that "in them all objections are answered in regard to my belief and doctrine."

ciple, and when they have done this they have finished their work.[1] He taught that they were the best of all books, and had been given by inspiration, and were only to be understood by inspiration, but that without this in the minds of the readers they were not only external, but had been productive of "fourfold more harm than good."[2] "The gospels contain a history, a great portion of which may be true."[3]

The central cause of the controversy was his teachings as to the person and work of Jesus Christ. He taught that Jesus was superior to the rest of mankind because he had a greater work to perform, just as a man with five talents needs greater power than he who has but one.[4] Beyond this he taught that God placed Jesus on an equality with man. In his scheme Jesus was a man liable to sin, yet free from it on account of his obedience, so that at the time of his baptism in the Jordan he became the Son of God, going through an experience in this respect that all of us must go through.[5] In his view, Jesus Christ died because he was killed by wicked men, just as any other prophet was martyred. While Hicks taught that his willingness to suffer was a pattern for us, he denied that the Father had

[1] See Elias Hicks's "Answer to Six Queries," Foster's "Report," vol. ii., p. [illegible]

larly to the consideration of their posit
person of Jesus Christ. In the early
the rise of the "New Lights" in New
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vinity of Christ, and held not a few
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the world. They believed that the light of Christ shone into the hearts of all, and that every one would be judged according to the light given to him.

The trouble began in Philadelphia, and the separations elsewhere were due to it. There was on both sides an exceedingly strong admixture of personal feeling all through the struggle, which, however much it may be regretted, must always be borne in mind.

The first open conflict of importance took place during the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of 1822. This was occasioned by the question of sanctioning a document prepared with reference to a newspaper controversy, in which a statement of certain doctrines of the Society was involved.[1]

But the pivot of the whole movement was the clash between Elias Hicks and the Philadelphia elders. The latter were induced, by letters from New York, and also by statements of those who had heard him preach within the limits of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, where he was traveling with due credentials from his own meeting, to seek a private interview with him in relation to his reported unsoundness. To such an interview he finally acceded. But on meeting him they found a number of his friends present. This was not what they thought had been agreed upon, and so they withdrew. A correspondence followed, in which Elias Hicks did not satisfy the elders. It was held on the one hand that a minister traveling with the proper credentials was bound to be accepted so long as he committed no disciplinary offense; while on the other hand the elders claimed that their action was in reference to doctrines preached since his leaving home. Hicks, meanwhile, finished his work in Philadelphia and returned to

New York, with a written indorsement given him by one of the monthly meetings. So great was the feeling aroused that this latter meeting took steps to remove its elders on the ground that they had unjustly spoken against an "approved minister"; while one of the quarterly meetings took measures to replace its representation in the Meeting for Sufferings by those who sympathized with Hicks. Both these measures were extra-disciplinary and without precedent, the latter being contrary to a recent action of the Yearly Meeting.

There were charges and counter-charges of infractions of the Discipline, so that party spirit ran high on both sides, and the real question at issue was obscured. One reason for the strong feeling which prevailed was that the Hicks party did not appreciate how deeply the Orthodox party felt in regard to anything which in their view tended to lessen the work of Christ. Doctrines, which to the Hicksites were unimportant, to the Orthodox were essential. The former did not object to individuals holding them, but to insist on them as essential they could not understand. The result of this was that the opposition to Hicks was regarded as personal, as arising from unworthy motives, and as persecution. On the other hand, the Orthodox seem to have been unable to understand the motives of their opponents, and would show them no leniency. With such feelings between the leaders of the two sides, separation was inevitable. The Orthodox appear to have utterly failed to grasp the tendency of the times. The great movements in the direction of political and intellectual liberty that arose toward the close of the eighteenth century were having their effect upon the Friends. There was a spirit that rebelled against the authority of the elders, and proclaimed that the true principle

ing of 1827 drew on, he traveled in different
territory of the Yearly Meeting[2] and held confe
those like-minded with himself, but found co
few ready for such a move. So it was determir
one more effort to gain control. There see
been no thought of compromise on either side
thing was to secure the appointment of a c
Yearly Meeting who would be favorable,[3] the p
being strongly Orthodox. The three quarter
who sympathized with Hicks sent up decidedl
resentatives than customary, in two cases doul
number.[4] The representatives, on whom dev
sponsibility of nominating clerks, met, and had
and stormy session that the meeting at larg
bled before they had come to a conclusion. T
ing to custom, resulted in the officers of tl
year retaining their places: they were Samuel I
and John Comly, assistant. As the latter wa
for a division of the body, he strongly object
prevailed upon to act. The next morning h
jected, on the ground that there were two ir
parties in the meeting, and proposed adjourn
date being mentioned, this proposition was tak

as meaning that the Yearly Meeting should be dissolved, so the proposition was not accepted.

It is needless to describe the sessions of that year. The sympathizers with Hicks were holding all along private meetings perfecting plans for making "a quiet retreat from the scene of confusion," and at the same time taking part in the business of the meeting. Near the close of the sessions a proposition came in from the Women's Meeting to have a committee appointed to attend all the lower meetings with authority to assist and help them. This was being strongly opposed by the Hicksites and some of the Orthodox, when a young man arose, and stated that he had attended the previous evening a meeting held by the Hicksite sympathizers, in which plans for a separation were being perfected. The information was so unexpected that some, as his report was not absolutely accurate, denied it. Others acknowledged it, and the committee was appointed.[1]

John Comly and his Friends held a conference after the Yearly Meeting had adjourned, and issued an address in which they stated that the fundamental position of Friends is that "GOD ALONE IS THE SOVEREIGN LORD OF CONSCIENCE, and that with this unalienable right, no power, civil or ecclesiastical, should ever interfere." They proceed to say that they feel bound to preserve it "unfettered by the hand of man, and unalloyed with prescribed modes of faith, framed in the will and wisdom of the creature." They then explain how the unity of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting has been interrupted, "that a division

[1] The last act of the united meeting was to agree to send money to North Carolina Friends to assist them to remove some free negroes out of the State who were in danger of losing their liberty. The quarterly meetings afterward contributed their various quotas through the regular treasurer, and this, in connection with the fact that the Yearly Meeting had been allowed to adjourn as usual, was held by the courts as evidence against the claim that the Yearly Meeting had been dissolved.

destructive of peace and tranquillity. .
been pursued which we deem oppres
nature and tendency calculated to unde
those benefits, to establish and perpetuat
the purpose of every religious association.
address they say: "We feel bound to e
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towards making a quiet retreat from tl
sion." At the same time they seem t
when peace might be restored, and tl
have no new doctrine nor gospel nor dis

The Orthodox were not slow to mal
dress. They pointed out that in it fe
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thodox did not, was distinctly admitt
cause of the confusion. There was no
the doctrines preached by the Orthodo

Later, as we have hinted, the claim
that the proceedings of the Orthodox
Yearly Meeting had virtually dissolved i
it to its original elements, so that a r

In June the Hicksites called another conference and issued another address,[1] in which they propose to hold a "Yearly Meeting for Friends in unity with us, residing within the limits of those Quarterly Meetings heretofore represented in the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia." The call invited the monthly and quarterly meetings to send representatives to meet in Philadelphia in October, "in company with other members favorable to our views, there to hold a Yearly Meeting of men and women Friends, upon the principles of the early professors of our name," etc. The partisan character of this call which practically excluded a large part of the membership, and the invitation to the monthly meetings to send representatives which was undisciplinary, were further reasons given by the court in New Jersey for its decision in favor of the Orthodox party, who had continued without interruption to carry on their Yearly Meeting.[2] The proposed meeting was held and largely attended, and it was decided to meet thereafter in the spring just before the Orthodox body Yearly Meeting. This Yearly

in so short a time." He says that by the autumn five of the eleven quarterly meetings had sent representatives, and that others had joined and that by spring all would have done so, though he admits that in all of them there were divisions of the meetings that would "adhere to the old establishment." His calculation that four fifths of the membership would declare for his party was far too large, but there is no doubt that they had the decided majority, and it was on this, and on their freedom from doctrinal restraints, that they founded their claim to be the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, and called the members of the "old establishment" separatists. (Foster's "Report," vol. ii., pp. 471, 475.)

Meeting, in October, was noteworthy in that it was attended by Elias Hicks, and that it had a direct bearing on the separation that followed in New York.

Immediately after the undivided Yearly Meeting had closed in the spring of 1827, both parties commenced active operations, and in most of the quarterly meetings scenes more or less disorderly were enacted. The Orthodox, armed with authority from the Yearly Meeting, were firm and unyielding in their demand that all who had, as they said, separated from the body should be excluded from attending the meetings for business, and by this course greatly increased the number of the opposing party. There were painful scenes also in connection with the possession of the meeting-houses. Officially, the Hicksites had taken and continued to take a very moderate position as to the property, advising their adherents to suffer wrong rather than disturb the peace.[1] This advice was not, however, followed, and although it is probable that the disorders were committed by younger members, who were simply members by birthright, the Orthodox maintained that the older members also were at fault. The Hicksites early in the struggle offered to compromise the question of property on the basis of numbers.[2]

The reason the Orthodox gave for the ground they took was that they regarded themselves as trustees for the property that had been placed in the hands of Friends for specific purposes, and that they were bound to see that those purposes were carried out; that the question of numbers was not in the case, and that they could not

divide property so that part of it would go for the support of doctrines they considered contrary to the fundamental

ded, and then organized. Though the feeling between e bodies in the last two localities was not so great as elsehere, the Orthodox rigidly disowned each of the Hicksis. This was to vindicate their claim to be the only ue body of Friends. Besides this, the disciplinary idea as very strong in those days. The Hicksites pursued a ilder course. The consequence was that many of the ıdecided found themselves with the Hicksites, espeally when these were in the majority, for the wholesale ıtting off of members could not be done with entire dgment.

It will be seen that except in Indiana and Ohio the icksites had a strong majority in each of the five Yearly ectjngs where a separation occurred. Nevertheless, takg the Society at large, they were in the decided minority, r there was no attempt to divide the Yearly Meetings the limits of New England, Virginia, or North Carolina, ıd each of these, with the Yearly Meetings of London ıd of Dublin, declared in favor of the Orthodox bodies. ıere was, therefore, no Yearly Meeting that as a whole led with the Hicksites, a point on which the Orthodox d great stress.[1]

The first effect of the separation was to make matters orse rather than better, for lawsuits followed, mostly beın by the Orthodox. The most important, and one in hich both sides brought forward their representative men, ıs the case before the Court of Chancery in New Jersey, 1830, over some funds belonging to Chesterfield Preparive Meeting. The Orthodox based their plea on docine, usages of the Society, and legal points, while the Hicksıs refused to reply to any questions of doctrine before a

on legal points, and Associate Justice Drake gave his opinion to the same effect on points of doctrine. The case was appealed, but confirmed by the Court of Errors and Appeals, which sustained the first decision by a vote of seven to four.[1] The chancellor, who was also governor, affirmed the decision, adding, with the consent of the court, his personal advice that the matter be settled amicably. This not being done, a bill afterward passed the New Jersey legislature, providing that an equitable division in accordance with numbers be made. This only applied to New Jersey. In Pennsylvania the Hicksites retained most of the country meeting-houses, while the Orthodox retained Westtown Boarding-school, the Frankford Asylum for the Insane, and the bulk of the city property—by far the lion's share of the whole. Other lawsuits followed in other places.[2]

The Wilbur-Gurney Controversy.

Leaving for a future chapter an account of the progress of the Society, we will now turn our attention to the other important schism that has occurred. In this the Orthodox bodies only were concerned. It differs from the separation we have just been considering in the longer period which it covers, and in the fact that the doctrinal points were more intricate, the question turning rather on disciplinary points and methods of administration.

[1] Janney says that all but one of those who voted in the affirmative afterward signed a paper stating that they did it on the legal ground taken by Justice Ewing. (Janney's "History," vol. iv., p. 334.)

[2] There were two lawsuits in Ohio: one against the Hicksites for the possession of property, which was gained by the Orthodox ("Report of the Trial of Friends at Steubenville, Ohio, 1829," M. T. C. Gould, stenographer; Philadelphia, Joseph Harding, printer, 1829); another trial against the Hicksites, for riot, at first decided in favor of the Orthodox, but on appeal to the Supreme Court was reversed on technical grounds. (See "The Friend," Philadelphia, vol. iii., p. 15.) In New York the Hicks party gained their suit, the chancellor being unable to see any difference in doctrine or any sufficient plea for the Orthodox claim. In this lawsuit the Hicksites entered

The effect of the separation of 1827–28 on the doctrinal position of the Orthodox bodies was to make them insist more strongly than ever on the deity and sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and on the authenticity of the Scriptures. The Orthodox Yearly Meetings, individually and collectively, issued declarations of their faith. In England a strong evangelical party called "Beaconites" arose in 1836.[1] These advocated an extremely literal mode of interpreting the Bible. They were rather harshly treated, and a small secession took place. Though small it was important, on account of the high position in the Society of those who seceded.

A leading Friend at this time in England was Joseph John Gurney. He had written much on doctrine and in defense of the Society of Friends, and is the most prominent defender of their doctrines since the early days. He was supposed to hold views very similar to those of Isaac Crewdson, the Beaconite leader, and having been on the committee that condemned him, he came in for the share of abuse of both sides that moderate men generally receive. He possessed a most attractive disposition, was very charitable with his great wealth, and was deeply religious. At Oxford he had studied under private tutors; he also came under the influence of Charles Simeon, the noted Low Church divine, and he moved in a circle that was at once refined and spiritual, and inspired by desires to raise their fellow-creatures; for he was the brother of the celebrated Elizabeth Fry, brother-in-law to Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, the antislavery leader, and was the intimate friend of Wilberforce, Clarkson, and others. He entered heartily into all their plans and arrangements, and was an active supporter of the British and Foreign Bible Society.[2] Such

[1] So called from a small book entitled "A Beacon to the Society of Friends," by Isaac Crewdson, one of the leaders.

[2] He was born near Norwich, in 1788, and died from the effects of an accident while riding, in 1847.

a man was naturally held in high esteem among his friends, and soon acquired wide influence. His scholastic education and his mingling with able thinkers outside the Society, together with his desire to spread the truth, as he understood it, among others than Friends, all contributed to make him depart considerably from the older forms of expression that had become obsolete to the general public. He was also more systematic in his modes of thought than Friends were then accustomed to be, and he undoubtedly held more closely to the evangelical school of thought than most Friends before his day, laying great emphasis on imputed righteousness, though always insisting upon a righteous life following it. Some objected to the stress he laid on the Scriptures, on the sanctity of the Sabbath, and to his belief concerning the resurrection, as being legal and external. They also feared his learning and his close intimacy in certain forms of religious work with members of the Church of England.[1]

John Wilbur, a minister from New England, visited Great Britain during the years 1831–33.[2] He noticed the rising of new methods of teaching, and new positions that were being taken in regard to doctrine, and was greatly grieved. He could not see how anything could be right that in any way tended to alter the formula used by the fathers of the Society. He met with a number who sympathized with him, and continued a correspondence with

[1] He was wrongly accused of denying the universal operation of the Spirit of Christ in the soul of man. See his remarks in "Observations on the Distinguishing Doctrines of Friends," pp. 49–67.

[2] John Wilbur was born at Hopkinton, R. I., in 1774. His parents were elders among Friends, and he was educated very carefully and strictly in the customs and doctrines of the Society. He was disowned by the Orthodox for violation of the Discipline in endeavoring to injure the esteem in which J. J. Gurney was held, by circulating reports as to his unsoundness. His sympathizers soon after effected an organization and received him cordially as a minister. He died in the spring of 1856. (See "Journal" of John Wilbur.)

them after his return from abroad. In 1837 Joseph John Gurney, having received the consent of the lower meetings, requested that of the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, to his undertaking a journey to America to visit Friends and engage in religious work. A largely preponderating number of those present heartily approved of his purpose, but there were some who decidedly opposed on doctrinal grounds his traveling with their indorsement. They were not sufficient to prevent the certificate being granted, but by their letters to America did much to influence the minds of John Wilbur and others against him.

The difference between them did not concern what are considered the essentials of Christianity. Wilbur laid great stress on heeding the light within, and thought Gurney placed too much emphasis on the importance of an outward knowledge of the facts of the work of Christ, though Gurney did not teach that these were essential to salvation. He objected to Gurney's position that justification precedes sanctification, and maintained that a man is justified only as he is sanctified. The difference was really in the definition of terms, but the practical result of Wilbur's teaching is that the individual does not expect to know that he is saved. John Wilbur also objected to any method of religious instruction but such as was directly prompted by the Spirit at the time, and believed that the giving of lectures on religious subjects, or the distinct teaching of Bible truth, as is done in Bible schools, was work done "in the will of the creature." Gurney was active in supporting systematic Bible study, though he was as strong as any one in upholding the necessity for immediate qualification and direct guidance in the ministry of the Word. In these points Wilbur was certainly nearer the Friends of the preceding century than Gurney. In the early years of the Society, however, the custom of holding public prearranged

discussions was prevalent, and these were more in line with Gurney's methods so far as the principle was concerned.

On Gurney's arrival in New England, John Wilbur waited on him in respect to his doctrines, and found him ready to enter into defense of them and to claim that they were according to the Quaker standards. This convinced Wilbur that Gurney was unsound, and he traveled about to warn others of him, and wrote letters to Friends in various parts in the same strain. This called out remonstrances from the leading Friends in New England, and committees of his Yearly and quarterly meetings endeavored to induce him to desist. The position of the committee was that inasmuch as Gurney had come to them with full indorsements from the Yearly Meeting of London, it was not competent for them to go behind that certificate, but that they should accept him, until he made himself in some way amenable to their rules.[1] Wilbur, on the other hand, maintained that as Gurney had published to the world his doctrines, they were common property, and that he had a right to demand that his soundness should be investigated, as these writings had never been withdrawn. Neither side would yield, and the frequent conferences between the committee and Wilbur were fruitless.

It is not practicable to give a detailed account of the troubles which led to a separation in New England and the setting up of a Wilburite Yearly Meeting. The Separatists only numbered five hundred out of a membership of over seven thousand, and their claim to be *the* New

[1] It will be seen that the plea here was not unlike that used by the sympathizers of Hicks when the Philadelphia elders sought to interfere with him; but the cases are not altogether identical, for Hicks had promulgated doctrines that caused alarm to the elders after his arrival in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. Gurney had not done this. Another great difference lay in this, that the Philadelphia elders did not have confidence in Hicks's home meeting, while New England Friends had unbounded confidence in the parent body in England.

of what they called "creaturely activity," that they confined themselves almost wholly to their stated Meetings for Worship, held largely in silence, as their avenue for gospel service. The Orthodox party did this, but added to it other methods allowing for more definite and regular teaching. Both were active in philanthropic work.

The separation in Ohio produced another shock throughout the Society, and again put every Yearly Meeting in danger of a separation, for both meetings again addressed all the others, and each claimed recognition as the one true body. At the time, the two meetings were distinguished by the name of their respective clerks, the "Hoyle Meeting" being the Wilbur body, and the "Binns Meeting" the Orthodox. All the Yearly Meetings on both sides of the Atlantic recognized the "Binns body" except Philadelphia, which promptly recognized the "Hoyle Meeting." As a consequence, Indiana, North Carolina, and Baltimore withdrew from further correspondence with Philadelphia. In Baltimore a small separation took place.

The pressure in Philadelphia of the sympathizers with the Orthodox bodies was soon so great that that Yearly Meeting, to avoid a separation in its own limits, was forced to abandon its recognition by way of correspondence with the Hoyle body in Ohio, and it gradually retired into the isolated condition it has ever since occupied. It allows members of each body to sit in its meetings, and will receive certificates of membership from each, but will not receive ministers as ministers when they change their residence. It holds correspondence with no other Yearly Meeting, and while it allows ministers from either body to take part in its Meetings for Worship, it will neither read nor record their certificates, nor appoint special meetings for them. Lately the meeting has begun to show evidence of greater openness, and its ministers have traveled both

in America and in other parts of the world. They ar
counted, although many favor the Wilburite meetings, a

such as singing, the introduction of "mourners' benches," "human leadership" in meetings, the preaching of instantaneous conversion and of instantaneous sanctification, etc., withdrew from the main body and formed separate Yearly Meetings. Their example for similar reasons was followed by their sympathizers in Canada.[1] They now form a complete circle of Yearly Meetings of their own. Their main educational establishment is at Barnesville, O. It is difficult to gain accurate statistics as to the progress of their membership. Their numbers in New England are greatly reduced in size. Of recent years it is said that, especially in Ohio, where they have their greatest strength, there has been an increase, though they are now far smaller than the Orthodox body in that State.[2]

It remains to state that there is still another body of Friends, known to the census as "Primitive." These are really Wilburite, but more exclusive and entirely independent. They number less than three hundred, and have separated partly from the Wilbur bodies and partly from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting on account of what they considered the inconsistent course pursued by these meetings in not going to the logical extent of their position. William Hodgson, the historian, whose work is frequently referred to in these pages, was a member of this branch. His "History" gives a full account of their rise and progress. The chief interest of these Friends is to "maintain the ancient testimonies of the Society" intact, with the idea of bearing witness to the spirituality of the gospel rather than of propagating it.

[1] These new meetings with the older meetings make the body number 4329 members in the United States. Including Canada, they have six Yearly Meetings, viz.: New England, Ohio, Western (Indiana), Iowa, and Kansas. At first they did not officially recognize one another by correspondence, but lately they have established it.

[2] The Friends who left Indiana Yearly Meeting at the time of the separa-

As soon as the separation of 1827–28 w
Orthodox and Hicksites began to strengthe
that remained, and to go forward as best
under the somewhat crippled conditions in
found themselves. Many heartily regrettec
tion. Nearly thirty years after, Samuel Be
been the Orthodox clerk at the time of the
Philadelphia, publicly stated that he believed
and suffering would have been better than
careful study of the times can hardly fail t
same conclusion. The Society, never very n
sented thereafter a broken front with dimi
ence. That some members would have bee
case is probable, but the same Book of Discipl
to be used by the Hicksites, with the clause
disownable offense to deny the authenticity
Scriptures and the divinity of Jesus Christ.[2]

The leaders who agreed with Hicks hel
different from the Orthodox; but many c
followed them did so in order to maintain w
was right liberty. In the Yearly Meetings c

strength and their weakness, for while they gained numbers they also received the large proportion of those who had no settled convictions, but who went with the current. Most of those who sided with the Orthodox did so from personal conviction, and therefore added strength to them. Many on both sides, however, adopted the course they took from social and family motives.

The Hicksites.

As has been said, it would be most unjust to credit Hicks's doctrines to even the bulk of those who are popularly called by his name. Their fundamental principle was that in matters of doctrine there should be the fullest liberty. They therefore freely accepted Hicks and indorsed him as a minister without thereby assuming to adopt his opinions.[1] The first effect of the separation on them, however, at least in Philadelphia, seems to have been to cause a reaction in favor of more "orthodox" teaching. At all events, they addressed an Epistle to that Yearly Meeting in 1830,[2] in which they protest that they hold *essentially* the same doctrines as they had always held, and that English Friends have misjudged them on *ex parte* testimony. They claim that the dissensions have not been caused by doctrinal differences so much as by the "exercise of an oppressive authority in the church." They also claim to accept the Scriptures with their record of Jesus Christ, and the fundamental principle of the light of Christ within, as God's gift for man's salvation, and all the blessed doctrines which grow from it as their root.

[1] The Orthodox claimed that by this action they virtually took the ground

They close by referring to their large majority over the other branch.[1]

Memoirs of prominent members of the Society about this time show that the doctrinal question was by no means settled. Lucretia Mott herself met with serious opposition on account of her views, which were almost rationalistic. But any "orthodox" reaction was overpowered, and the era of freedom of expression on points of doctrine was established.[2]

Lucretia Mott was probably the ablest representative of the extreme radical school of thought in the Society. She worked in connection with the Free Religious Association, was a member of the Anti-Sabbath Association, and appeared to have grave doubts on the subject of the future life. Her statements concerning Jesus Christ are most radical, and she took the ground that the Bible was a dangerous book. She had, however, great faith in righteousness, and labored with persistent zeal and untiring perseverance on behalf of the slave, often enduring no little opposition and sometimes being in danger of vio-

[1] This Epistle was not sent without earnest protest. The clerk of the Woman's Meeting at the time, the afterward celebrated Lucretia Mott, opposed it very positively, on the ground that "it contained sentiments utterly opposed to her own convictions, and to what she believed to be the inherent spirit of Quakerism." She was overruled, but signed it in her official capacity. She was so far justified by the fact that the document was not read in London Yearly Meeting at large, and was returned in a rather peremptory manner. ("James and Lucretia Mott," p. 167, and note.)

[2] Edward Hicks, one of their prominent ministers at the time of the separation, writes in 1840 complaining of the growing power of the Unitarian element and says that Elias Hicks never meant to introduce this, but only to prevent Friends from running to the opposite extreme of Trinitarianism; that before his death the old man, seeing how things were going, had said that he was more afraid of his professed Friends than his professed enemies. "But," adds Edward Hicks, "had he lived till now, he would have found gallery members of his branch of Friends having less reverence for Jesus Christ than the Turks, and have heard one of their prominent ministers declare from a Quaker gallery that a Roman Catholic priest in Ireland had done more good than ever Jesus Christ had done." ("Memoirs" of Edward Hicks.)

lence. Nothing could daunt her in this work, and she lived down opposition both inside and outside of her Society. It was undoubtedly her strong and successful efforts on behalf of the negro that served to turn the attention of her fellow-members from her radical doctrines and to give her the great place in their love and esteem which she attained during the latter years of her life. This prominence also gave weight to her teaching and caused it to be more widely accepted.[1]

There always continued to be a body of Friends belonging to this branch who entertained views closely approximating evangelical doctrines, although a minority; so, in full accord with the foundation principle of freedom which underlies the Hicksite branch of the Society, one can hear very differing views advocated in the same meeting. As a body this branch has given special attention to philanthropy and moral reform. First for the slave, and now for peace, total abstinence from alcoholic beverages, and other movements for the uplifting of humanity, their members, both in their corporate capacity and individually, have been active and efficient. In the field of literature, Samuel M. Janney, a prominent minister in Loudoun County, Va., is acknowledged to have produced the most authoritative life of William Penn that has appeared.[2]

This branch of the Society has been much interested in education, having had under the care of their members, and still having, a number of institutions for learning, of

[1] See "Life of James and Lucretia Mott." She was the daughter of Thomas and Anna Coffin, and was born in Nantucket, 1793; she married James Mott, Jr., in 1811, and died in 1880.

[2] Orthodox Friends take exception to his "Life of George Fox" and to the doctrinal parts of his "History of Friends," as not giving sufficient weight to the evangelical views of early Friends. His section on the causes of the separation is a very able production, but is open to the charge of

all grades.[1] One of the earliest of these was the Alexandria Boarding-school in Virginia, under the charge of Benjamin Hallowell. It was opened in 1824, and continued thirty-four years. Many sons of slave-owners were in attendance. The school attained wide celebrity, especially for its superior instruction in advanced mathematics. General Robert E. Lee and General Kirby Smith were among the students. Benjamin Hallowell was also a prominent minister, and was greatly esteemed for his high character and abilities.

A very important school, considered by some as the precursor of Swarthmore College, was begun in 1838 by John and Rachel Jackson, near Darby, Pa. It was among the first which offered advanced educational privileges to young women. John Jackson imported the largest refracting telescope owned by any individual in the United States.

Since 1845 there has been a day-school for boys and girls under the care of the three monthly meetings in Philadelphia. It now numbers six hundred pupils, and is a very thorough institution. Its students, who belong to all denominations, regularly attend midweek meeting for worship with their teachers. Other schools which may be mentioned are: Friends' Seminary, New York (1861), Friends' School in Brooklyn (1867), which together have an endowment of $100,000; Friends' Elementary and High School, Baltimore, Md. (1864), and the George School (1893) at Newtown, Pa. By the will of the late

[1] A great deal of the information concerning the educational institutions among Friends of both branches is gathered from an able account of them by Edward Magill, LL.D., late president of Swarthmore College, Pa., which is to be found in "The Proceedings of the Friends' Religious Congress, Chicago, 9th mo. 1893." (Hicksite Conference.) Almost the only criticism on the paper that can be made is that he writes as if all the institutions were under one body, the inference being that they are all Hicksite. Divisions are greatly to be regretted, still when they exist they should be recognized.

John M. George, of Overbrook, Pa., about $750,000 has been left for this school. The grounds contain 227 acres, and suitable buildings have been erected at an entire cost of $150,000. It is a coeducational boarding-school, and has scientific, classical, and literary courses.

Their leading educational institution is Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa., founded in 1869. It is under the management of members of the Society, both men and women being on the board. The value of land and buildings, apparatus, etc., is estimated at about half a million dollars, and its permanent endowment fund is about the same. The instruction is liberal and thorough. The main building was totally destroyed by fire in 1881, but was restored in one year by the subscriptions of Friends without incurring any debt. Its influence on other schools in the Society is great, and many of them, for we have only mentioned a few of the number, arrange their courses to enable their students to enter the freshman class at Swarthmore on certificate of the principal. The Indian work of the Society will be treated in connection with that of the Orthodox body.

The present number of the Hicksite body is set down in the census of 1890 as 21,992. They are exclusively confined to the United States and Canada, and are divided into seven Yearly Meetings, viz., New York, Genesee (Western New York and Canada), Philadelphia, Baltimore, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Of these Genesee and Illinois have been established since the separation. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, with 12,029 members, comprises more than half the entire membership. Their numbers have seriously declined, for in 1830 they claimed to have a combined membership of 31,000 and over, in

less than six or seven thousand at that time, and were probably more.

Of recent years there has been a revival of a feeling for the support and spread of their views. An enthusiastic conference on philanthropic work was held in 1892 at Goose Creek, Lincoln, Loudoun County, Va., attended by delegates from all parts. Their conference at the Congress of Religions at Chicago in 1893 was a great success. They have flourishing "First-day schools," some of which have adopted the International Lessons, and others a series of lessons selected and prepared by a Central Committee of their own body. They have been very successful in forming social and literary organizations which interest and hold their younger members. By these means they have checked their decrease in membership, and show, we understand, in some places an increase.

The latest statement of their doctrine is given by Howard M. Jenkins, senior editor of the "Friends' Intelligencer" of Philadelphia, in his "Statement of the Faith of Friends"[1] at the Congress in Chicago. Without giving the statement in full, we may say that they maintain that God "directly reveals Himself to the perceptions of man; that his light shines into our souls, if we admit it, and becomes thus 'God's gift for man's salvation.' The Scriptures confirm this immediate revelation, and record the visitations of God to the souls of men in past ages," and present us with the truths of the Christian dispensation. "We therefore," he says, "revere the Scriptures, and desire to become possessors of the truth they contain." This is to be accomplished through the same Spirit by which

1 "Proceedings of the Religious Congress of Friends in the World's Parliament of Religions, Chicago, 1893," p. 22. See also "What Makes a Friend," "Chautauquan," April, 1894, by John J. Cornell.

they were given forth. On the divinity of Christ he says: "Convinced that the divine nature, the Christ spirit, the Word 'which was in the beginning,' dwelt in Jesus in an unparalleled and, to our finite perceptions, an immeasurable degree, we regard him (as John G. Whittier has formulated it) as 'the highest possible manifestation of God in man.'"[1] There is no statement of their belief as to salvation through Christ Jesus.

The Orthodox.

In the Yearly Meetings of New England, Virginia, and North Carolina there was no break in the progress of events, as no separation had occurred in them; in fact, in the State of North Carolina and in the Yearly Meeting in Virginia there has been no separation at all at any time, so far as is known to the present writers.[2] In the remaining Yearly Meetings, one of the first things done was the appointment of committees by the Yearly Meetings to go throughout the territory under their care, and bring together the weak-hearted, and, where necessary, organize new meetings. A great deal of difficulty was felt in the fact that both bodies claimed the title of the Society of Friends, so that there was no easy way of distinguishing them. It is largely to this cause that must be attributed the long survival of unpleasant feeling that now, after a lapse of more than sixty years, is only dying out. Many of the meetings of the Orthodox adopted as their official title, in addition to their previous name, "in unity with

[1] It seems but justice to J. G. Whittier, who was a member of Orthodox Friends, to say that, while he was full of universal love and recognized the good in all, he was not a Unitarian in his creed, or even an Arian, but distinctly accepted the orthodox view of Christ Jesus, as he personally assured the writer of this sketch.

THE ORTHODOX.

schools have been almost universal in this branch of the Society. Most of the schools use the International Lessons, and all the Yearly Meetings except one have standing committees whose duty it is to encourage and help the schools in the various localities.[1]

The separation had also the effect of arousing the literary activity of the members. In Philadelphia Thomas Evans issued an "Exposition" of Friends' doctrines, dwelling chiefly on the testimony of the earliest Friends to the divinity of Christ and his salvation. He and his brother William soon after edited very ably a series of volumes entitled "Friends' Library," in which were reproduced, in a rather more modern form, the lives and writings of many of the early worthies of the Society. The work reached to fourteen volumes. About the time of the separation the weekly periodical known as "The Friend" (Philadelphia) was established, and is now the oldest periodical published anywhere under the name of Friends. It represents the conservative element of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. There has been no appreciable change in its shape, size, or appearance during the sixty-four years of its existence.

There was during this period a good deal of ministerial activity, and a number of ministers traveled up and down the country visiting the congregations of Friends, and also holding meetings to some extent with the public. Among these ministers was Stephen Grellet, "a modern apostle," as he has been termed, whose life is one of the most remarkable, not only among the preachers of his own denomination, but of all denominations in the present century.[2] The influence of the traveling ministers can hardly

[1] Except in some points of method, these schools are very similar to the Sunday-schools of other denominations.

[2] See "Memoirs of Stephen Grellet," by Benjamin Seebohm, London and

be overestimated. It served to maintain many a small congregation in hope and life, and also to arouse many who were not in membership, and though, owing to special reasons, there was little effort made to proselytize, yet the religious influence exerted by these preachers on persons outside the Society has been great.

The chief influence exerted by the Friends, as it has been mentioned in regard to the organization, was in the careful and just lives of their members. The Quaker character became proverbial for probity, and it would be difficult to find any movement that promised on right lines to benefit man that had not received support from Friends to an extent out of all proportion to their numbers.

We have seen how they liberated their slaves at a time when the consciences of the Christians of the country at large were quite asleep on the subject. Their efforts on behalf of the negro did not stop here, but they immediately began to try to influence society around them to see the iniquity of slavery. Their method was entirely moral suasion, and not political action; and they confined themselves to petitioning legislatures, to appeal, and to personal influence so far as the masters were concerned; and in regard to the slaves, they refused to countenance the evil system in any way that they could possibly avoid. They would not hire slave labor. Many of them refused to buy slave grown or produced articles. When they saw any case of peculiar distress where families were being separated by being sold away from one another, the Friends as far as they could would buy them in, and then arrange for their freedom, the freed negro frequently, by working on part wages or by saving, repaying the money spent for him. Many of the Friends took great interest in the religious and intellectual development of this race, and in States where it was illegal for colored people to hold

gatherings without the presence of some white persons, they would not infrequently attend regularly, for the chief purpose of affording them an opportunity to hold meetings in their own way, though very often the Friends also would have something to say. Others, at the risk of imprisonment if discovered, taught continuously through a series of years in night-schools for colored persons held privately for fear of detection. In these quiet ways, with great diligence and patience, the Friends labored in a movement entirely distinct from what is now known as the political abolition movement. When this arose the body of Friends greatly regretted it, and for a number of years refused to sanction what they felt to be a movement with good purposes, but using methods inconsistent with the peaceable religion of Christ. Officially, none of the Yearly Meetings, so far as known, ever sanctioned any political party. Soon, however, the fire of the new crusade aroused many earnest Friends, and they began to sympathize and labor together with the abolitionists. This aroused even more opposition in the Orthodox than it had in the Hicksite ranks, and the current of feeling ran so high that in Indiana Yearly Meeting there was in 1835 a considerable secession from the main body, and a new organization was formed under the name of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Antislavery Friends. Their number was about 2000, and that of the main body 25,000. No lawsuits resulted, and the Orthodox body, which had been rather high-handed before the separation, seems to have quickly perceived its mistake, and to have practically abandoned the position that caused the separation. No other Yearly Meeting on the Continent recognized the new body. London Yearly Meeting, in which the sentiment in favor of antislavery was very strong, sent over a deputation to [illegible] hopes of reconciling the two [illegible]

not altogether appreciated by the antislavery Friends, but the effect desired was eventually brought about, and after ten years the new body formally dissolved, leaving its members free to act as they thought best. Of course some were lost to the Society, but many, perhaps most, of them quietly returned to the original organization, where they were received with open arms, and some of them became very prominent.[1]

About this time John Greenleaf Whittier came into prominence as a true poet who had espoused the cause of the slave. There is no doubt that his thorough identification with the antislavery cause was a wonderful help to it, and that his influence helped to raise it above the immediate issues of the present and did much to make its advocates see that they were in line with the eternal movement of right. He was through all a Quaker and never advocated force. Besides his songs for freedom, perhaps no one has done more to make current the Quaker conception of Christianity.[2] He was born at Haverhill, Mass., 1807, and died at Hampton Falls, N. H., September 7, 1892.

A large majority of the Friends, at least in the North and West, voted for Lincoln in 1860 as the representative of the party that advocated freedom, though at that time the idea of freedom in the States where slavery already existed was not contemplated. As the war drew on, not a few of the antislavery men and not a few Friends thoroughly agreed with the position taken by Whittier and Garrison, that it would be better to stand by, "the sad spectators of a suicide," than to engage in fratricidal war. As a body, Friends of all parties endeavored to maintain their ground in favor of peace. Whittier came out

[1] Hodgson, vol. ii., pp. 9–49. For an account of the English deputation's labors from an inside point of view, see "Memoirs of William Forster," vol. ii., pp. 193–210.

[2] See note, p. 280.

strongly, in a poem addressed to the alumni of Friends' Boarding-school, Providence, telling them plainly that they cannot take the battle-brand, but that they are now to suffer for the sake of their principles as well as with their country, and must not expect that because they believe it is wrong to fight they are to be spared their share of sorrow. His manly words doubtless stirred many to renewed faithfulness. But not a few felt the dilemma put by President Lincoln in a letter written by him to the widow of J. J. Gurney, then residing in New Jersey. After speaking of his appreciation of a visit she had paid him, and of her letter to him,[1] he says: "Your people, the Friends, have had and are having a very great trial. On principle and faith opposed to both war and oppression, they can only practically oppose oppression by war. In this hard dilemma some have chosen one horn and some the other. For those appealing to me on conscientious grounds I have done and shall do the best I could and can, in my own conscience, under my oath to the law."[2]

E. P. Gurney in her reply to the President clearly and forcibly maintains the alternative that wrong is not to be set right by wrong. There were some in the Society who thought otherwise, and not a few of both branches were found in the army. It was a Hicksite Quaker who wrote the song "We are coming, Father Abram." A good deal has been said about the number of Friends in the army, but more than the occasion warrants. The peculiar custom which grew up of admitting the children of Friends as full members by right of birth, with all its undeniable

[1] The visit referred to was "a religious visit," in which E. P. Gurney gave him what she felt to be a message from the Lord. The letter was written at his request, and after his assassination was found in his breast-pocket.

advantages had this drawback, that many who had never made any Christian profession were counted as Friends, and when these enlisted it was considered that they had forsaken their position, when in reality many of them had nothing but a traditional position on the subject. In many cases those who enlisted were disowned by their meetings, in many others their acknowledgment of regret was accepted, and in others no action was taken. On the other hand, there were numerous instances of persons who were faithful to their testimony for peace amid much that was painful. This was specially the case in the South, where the Friends refused in the face of positive persecution and much physical suffering to bear arms. None of them absolutely lost their lives, but on several occasions they were ordered to be shot, but the soldiers, impressed with their Christian courage and patience, refused to obey the command. Some were deprived of food and drink, and subjected to many and humiliating punishments, but they remained firm. The Confederate Government created an exemption tax, which not a few paid, while others did not feel that such a course would be right, and chose rather to suffer. It was a noticeable fact that this firm stand on the part of the Friends resulted in North Carolina in an actual increase in membership, others being so deeply impressed with their faithfulness that they examined into their principles and joined them, although the exemption privilege was not granted to new members. The close of the war found Friends more earnest in the promotion of peace, and they formed themselves into a Peace Association of Friends in America, which put lecturers into the field, and issued tracts, and soon started a monthly periodical, called "The Messenger of Peace." The Association was heartily sustained by the various Yearly Meetings, though after a number of years the interest in evangelization turned the

attention of Friends in other directions. More recently, however, it has shown new life, and has lately been incorporated under the laws of Indiana, and is pressing the cause with more vigor.

The Indians, Colored Population, etc.

expense, and has been attended with continuous robberie murders, and wars. From my own experience upon tl frontiers and in Indian countries, I do not hold either legi lation, or the conduct of the whites who come in conta with the Indian, blameless for these hostilities. The pas however, cannot be undone, and the question must be m as we now find it. I have attempted a new policy towa these wards of the nation (they cannot be regarded in an other light than as wards), with fair results so far as trie and which I hope will be attended ultimately with gre success. The Society of Friends is well known as havin succeeded in living in peace with the Indians in the earl settlement of Pennsylvania, while their white neighbors other sects in other sections were constantly embroile They are also known for their opposition to all strife, vi lence, and war, and are generally noted for their stri integrity and fair dealings. These considerations induce me to give the management of a few reservations of Ir dians to them, and to lay the burden of the selection agents upon the Society itself. The result has prove most satisfactory."

In his message for 1870 President Grant further d velops his plan and the underlying idea in his mind. I says: "The experiment of making it a missionary wo was tried with a few agencies given to the denominatio of Friends, and has been found to work most advant geously. . . . Indian agencies being civil offices, I dete mined to give all the agencies to such religious denomin tions as had heretofore established missionaries among t Indians, and perhaps to some other denominations wh would undertake the work on the same terms, i.e., as missionary work. The societies selected are allowed name their own agents, subject to the approval of the Exe utive, and are expected to watch over them and aid the

as missionaries, to Christianize and civilize the Indian, and to train him in the arts of peace. . . . I entertain the confident hope that the policy now pursued will, in a few years, bring all the Indians upon reservations, where they will live in houses, have schoolhouses and churches, and will be pursuing self-sustaining avocations, and where they may be visited by the law-abiding white man with the same impunity that he now visits the civilized white settlements."[1]

This inauguration of a new and honest and Christian policy on the part of the government toward the Indians is one of the brightest parts of President Grant's administration. The exact plan as he marked it out has not been pursued by his successors, but the impetus it gave to the cause of the Indian and the far-reaching results that have since been attained may be said to date their rise from the action of the President as described in these messages. It is not too much to claim that the enlightened policy of William Penn, adopted from conscientious adherence to the principles of peace and justice—a policy followed faithfully by those who came after him—was the direct influence that moved President Grant in the adoption of his policy. His practical eye had seen the failure of injustice, greed, and war, and had seen the success of justice and peace, and he chose the latter.

The Society of Friends in its various branches—for both Orthodox and Hicksites were engaged in the work, though independently of each other—continued to do their share of work for the Indians in connection with the government for about fifteen years, their last agent having withdrawn in 1885. The accounts of all the agents nominated by Friends were honorably settled. "In every case where suits have been brought against them in the United States

[1] "Annual Message, etc.," vol. i., p. 17.

courts, our Friends have been honorably acquitted, and the cost thrown upon the government."[1]

The work in connection with the government having ceased, only served to turn the attention of Friends more particularly to the subject of evangelization among the Indians, which they have carried out ever since with increasing success, so that there now are four hundred and twenty members of the Orthodox Society among the Indians, with four monthly meetings.

Perhaps the most wonderful instance of the power of kind Christian treatment over the untamed savage is shown in the history of the Modocs. After they were conquered they were taken directly from the lava beds, where they had made such a desperate stand, and put under the peaceful care of the Friends. The change that soon came over their wild natures was marvelous. Steamboat Frank, who had been a terror to his enemies, was not only converted, but became in a comparatively short time a minister of the gospel among Friends, and an evangelist of real power and effectiveness. He so firmly adopted the principles of peace that he would not bear a deadly weapon even as an officer of the peace, and once when his brother was unjustly struck down beside him by a white man, he simply remarked that there had been a time when he would in an instant have slain the aggressor, but that now he was of a different spirit. He died a few years since, while in Portland, Me., whither he had gone to attend the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England. The history of the success that the Friends have had with the Indians, as well as

[1] Report of Committee on Indian Affairs. See Baltimore Yearly Meeting Minutes, 1886, p. 39. At one time Friends (Orthodox) had a Superintendent of Indian Affairs, eight Indian Agents, and eighty-five other members acting as employees under the government. Their Christian influence was active, and it is safe to state that hundreds of Indians came through their efforts to a character-changing faith in Christ.

the success attained by other denominations, is a standing proof that the Indians, after all these generations of wrong treatment at the hands of the stronger race, are still open to kindness and justice. In all movements for the protection and advancement of the Indian those who are working have the solid support of members of the Society of Friends, both Hicksite and Orthodox.

Friends have also continued their interest in and labor for the negro, but in this respect have hardly come up to what might have been expected from them after their earlier labors on their behalf. It would have been supposed that of all the others they would have been foremost to establish missions and labor among them, but this has not been the case. However, they have done a good deal. Southland College, Arkansas, has for years been doing a patient, steady, and successful work, and has turned out many who have been able as teachers and in other ways to raise their fellow-people. Friends in the North have missions in Tennessee and North Carolina, and various institutions not under the care of Friends are, we understand, assisted by them. Not very many of this race have joined the Society, though there are some who have done so, and a few become ministers among them. We believe this statement applies only to the Orthodox. At the time of the "exodus" from the South into Kansas, Elizabeth L. Comstock, a leading minister in the Society, was at the head of a large part of the work of distributing relief.

Philanthropy, Education, etc.

In regard to general labor for the advancement of the poor, Friends have been more in the habit of uniting with others than in carrying on independent work of their

the stalwart supporters of movements than the ones who appeared before the public as leaders. They have been stronger in council than in the brilliant exercise of gifts, and in plain practical common sense than in the graceful accomplishments. For this reason superficial observers have often overlooked the service done by Friends to the various movements. They have not seldom given the needed suggestion at the right time. Thus it is said to have been a Friend who was the means of starting Father Matthew on his great temperance work in Ireland. The modern idea of fresh-air funds and free sanitariums for sick children during the summer months is not new among Friends. The Annual Association of Women Friends for the Relief of Sick Children in the Summer Season was in full running order in Philadelphia in the summer of 1849, with a corps of nine physicians, ready to furnish free excursions by rail or steamboat, and in extreme cases to procure free board in the country for mothers with their sick infants.[1] Later the work of Sarah Smith in the Indiana penitentiary, where she was for many years matron, must not be overlooked. She was one of the band of noble women who demonstrated that to treat criminals kindly and as human beings should be treated was not only humane, but eminently the wise thing to do for their reformation.

The interest of the Hicksites in the cause of temperance has been noted, and the Orthodox have not been behind them. Every Yearly Meeting has special committees on the subject, and, with perhaps no exception, the Disciplines of all make the manufacture, sale, or use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage a disownable offense. The Western Yearly Meetings are particularly earnest in the cause of the absolute prohibition of the traffic.

[1] "Friends' Review," Philadelphia, "fifth mo. 26th, 1849," vol. ii., p. 576.

The interest of Friends in education developed early, and while they did not produce great scholars, they were able to keep the average educational standard of their members at a higher level than that of the community around them. This, with their strict moral discipline, made them generally persons of considerable influence in every neighborhood where they were found. New York Yearly Meeting opened the first boarding-school for Friends' children at Nine Partners, Dutchess Co., N. Y., in 1796. It was for children of both sexes. Moral training was made primary, and intellectual training secondary. After the separation it remained in the hands of the Orthodox Friends. About thirty years ago it was moved to Union Springs, N. Y., and is now in a flourishing condition, after having gone through many vicissitudes.

The next movement, three years later (1799) was the establishment of a boarding-school at Westtown,[1] Chester County, Pa., by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, on an estate of six hundred acres. It was also for both sexes. The school has exercised for nearly a century very wide and deep influence upon Friends of Philadelphia and Baltimore Yearly Meetings. The teaching is most thorough and the discipline strict. At the separation it remained in the hands of the Orthodox. During the past ten years very handsome new buildings, with all modern improvements, have been erected.

In 1819 New England Yearly Meeting, influenced largely by the philanthropist Moses Brown, who had for years labored to establish such a school, and had given valuable land in Providence, R. I., for the purpose, opened

[1] It is not generally known that the establishment of this school was largely due to the celebrated John Dickinson, the author of "The Farmer's Letters," [illegible]

whole Civil War on a gold basis, and came out without embarrassment, and without having missed a class—a record which from a financial as well as an educational point of view was probably unique in the South during that period. In 1888 the school was raised to the rank of a college, and is now known as Guilford College. It is coeducational.

The Friends in the West were somewhat later in the establishment of boarding-schools. In 1847 one was established, under the care of Indiana Yearly Meeting, near Richmond, Ind., which in 1859 was chartered as Earlham College. It is in a flourishing condition, under the joint control of Indiana and Western Yearly Meetings. Wilmington College, Wilmington, O., was opened 1871, and Penn College, Oskaloosa, Ia., in 1873. Both these are doing good work. In addition to these is Pacific College, Newberg, Ore. (1891), and Pickering College, Pickering, Ont., Canada, recently reopened.

A very important college for women was founded at Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1885, in accordance with the will of Dr. Joseph W. Taylor, a Friend of Burlington, N. J. By its charter all the trustees are required to be members of the Society of Friends (Orthodox). It is thoroughly equipped, and is the most advanced college for women in the country. It pursues a very liberal course, and can hardly be classed as a denominational college.

There are many schools and academies under the control of Friends which cannot be named. As with the Hicksites, the Orthodox have taken great interest in educational matters, and in 1877 an important and influential conference on education was held at Baltimore, which was followed by others in 1880, 1881, 1883, 1888; in addition to these, local conferences have frequently been held.

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especially as it was not thought right to use any efforts to obtain new members, is a striking evidence of the power that was in the body. Increase of spiritual life would at first tend to increase the activity in the support of the Discipline, till as the life grew the power that was present gradually caused unnecessary restrictions to be laid aside and others to be modified.

Still another cause of decline in numbers was that there were greater attractions for many in a life of more conformity with the ways of ordinary persons, so that not a few left from their own free will. Again, the position of Friends on a variety of subjects of doctrine and practice was so unlike that of the other denominations about them that it required the courage of one's convictions to withstand the weight of public opinion. When all these reasons are taken into consideration, the wonder is rather that so many remained, and not that there was a decline.

The picture presented in the West during this period was in several respects very different. While the East was losing by emigration, the West was gaining. The meetings in Ohio, Indiana, and Iowa soon became large and flourishing. For a long time fully as great strictness prevailed as in the East, and there was the same readiness to "disown," but the circumstances were different. The country was new and thinly settled at first, and there were fewer temptations to worldliness. Again, the Friends settled largely in communities, so that in many cases they would form the bulk of the population, and in this way public opinion would be with them. Their growth was large, and new Yearly Meetings were set up. Ohio had been set off in 1812 from Baltimore; Indiana from Ohio in 1821. In 1857 Western (comprising western and southern portions of Indiana, and eastern Illinois) was set off; Iowa in 1863, and Kansas in 1872. All these were es-

tablished from Indiana Yearly Meeting, which also set off Wilmington Yearly Meeting, of southwestern Ohio, in 1892. Iowa Yearly Meeting in 1893 set off the Yearly Meeting of Oregon, and at present writing there is a prospect of one being established in California. About two thirds of all the Friends in the world are in the United States west of the Alleghanies.

It must not be concluded that the decrease in membership in the East continued. Since 1865 a new life has appeared there also, and in New York and New England the decrease has stopped and an increase is noted, especially in the former. North Carolina has about trebled its membership, and Baltimore nearly doubled. This has been notwithstanding the continual loss through emigration, and the fact of a comparatively low birth-rate.

In 1867 Canada Yearly Meeting was set off from New York. It was considered an interesting fact that during the time of the holding of its first session the "Dominion of Canada" was inaugurated.[1]

Great changes have taken place since the tide has turned, and Friends have become an aggressive, growing body, instead of a diminishing one. The peculiar cut of dress and the "plain" language of "thee" and "thou" have been discarded, as having no religious value for the present age.[2]

The numerical names for months and days are still al-

[1] Settlements of Friends in Canada were made from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York during the latter part of the eighteenth century. For a time under the care of both Philadelphia and of New York Yearly Meetings, they were finally joined to the latter, with which they were incorporated until 1867. Some Friends near the New York line were retained when those of the Canadian meetings were set off.

[2] Not a few continue to use the "thee" and the "thou" in their families and to their intimate Friends, partly for old association and partly in the way the French and Germans do, as a sign of the familiarity of friendship. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting continues to lay stress on the old form of dress and address.

most universally used by Friends in their official language and in their records, but the practice of using them in ordinary conversation is rapidly dying out. There has also been a considerable relaxation in the Discipline. Many old rules have been either annulled or allowed to become a dead letter. In this change there may be a question whether there is not a risk of going to the other extreme, but nevertheless there is a great deal of care in respect to daily living. But the attitude of the meeting and its officers has long ceased to be one of judging with a view to cutting off the offender, and is now one of encouragement toward the weak and the restoration of those who are astray. As soon as this feeling became general the rapid decline in numbers ceased.

Friends during the past thirty years have reawakened to the fact that one of the main duties of the Christian Church is to carry the gospel to those who do not know it. Almost every Yearly Meeting is pervaded with the sense that this is the great object toward which every avenue of work is to contribute. Everything is now chiefly judged from the simple point of view as to whether it will tend to the spread of the knowledge of Jesus Christ and the building up of believers. From being one of the most traditional of all bodies Friends have come to believe that the essential spirit of Quakerism is freedom, and so traditionalism is now one of their greatest fears. The simplicity of their organization, the freedom in their meetings for worship to any one to take vocal part under what is felt to be the guidance of the Spirit, each one being subject to the judgment of the rest, allows flexibility and variety of service and the development of individual gifts. In not a few instances their freedom from an established order of clergy has been found to be the means of inspiring confidence. The fact that the Quaker boy or girl is impressed with

the thought that without forsaking usual duties or going through a college training he or she may be at any time called upon by the Lord to preach gives an added dignity to the ordinary life. And the practice of silent united worship as the basis upon which meetings are held, where it is appreciated tends to cause the worshiper to seek the Lord directly, and thus strengthens religious character.

The change of front has been truly marvelous, and has on the whole been accomplished with very little friction. A number of leading ministers and others a few years since sought to change the position of the Society on the subject of baptism and the Supper. This was especially the case in Ohio, which Yearly Meeting in 1886 refused to make the subject in any way a test matter. All the other Yearly Meetings took prompt action, declaring it incompatible for any one who observed them or advocated the use of these ordinances to remain in the position of minister or elder. This rule was by no means strictly enforced, but the general sentiment of the Society supported it, and the matter soon ceased to be a burning question. This result was thought to have been greatly helped by the calling of a conference of Yearly Meetings at Richmond, Ind., in 1887. This assemblage was unique, being the first, and probably will be for many years the last, of the kind held. It was composed of delegates from all the Yearly Meetings in the world, both Great Britain and Ireland being represented. It lasted for three days and accomplished a vast amount of work. The most important of its actions were the issuing of a "Declaration of Faith" and the suggestions for a stated conference to be held at regular intervals. The "Declaration" consisted largely of extracts from standard writings, and is too diffuse and general in its statements to be regarded as a rigid creed; nevertheless, it much more

nearly approaches one than any of the Declarations that have preceded it, and the change in its tone and emphasis over former ones is very marked. It conforms much more nearly to the standards of ordinary evangelical denominations. As might have been expected from the fact that baptism and the Supper were the questions then at issue, the space occupied in the consideration of these topics is disproportionately large. While it acknowledges the distinguishing views of Friends on the universality of the operation of the Spirit of Christ, it tends to pass them over. It states the Quaker doctrine of peace, and against oaths, etc., clearly and well, states in guarded language the doctrines of future rewards and punishments, and, of course, reaffirms the deity of Christ and salvation through him. The "Declaration" met with strong opposition in England, and London Yearly Meeting took no action on it. New England and Ohio took essentially the same position. Dublin, New York, and Baltimore gave a general approval of it without adopting it. The other Yearly Meetings in the United States adopted it. This variety of action in no way altered the official relations of the Yearly Meetings, for the action of the conference was only advisory and not authoritative.

After this the subject of baptism and the Supper became of secondary interest and was overshadowed by that of the ministry. With the increase of religious life and evangelizing zeal not only had old congregations taken on new growth and activity, but many new congregations had been formed. To accomplish this many methods formerly unknown among Friends were in various places brought into use, such as congregational singing, and the employment of methods more or less similar to those so familiar among the Methodists. Persons brought rapidly into the

It is too soon to say how far this reaction will extend. It was probably started by the conference held in October of 1892 at Indianapolis. This conference was suggested by the one held in Richmond, Ind., five years previously. A proposition for an authoritative conference was made later by Kansas Yearly Meeting, but not accepted. Finally a committee of the various Yearly Meetings met at Oskaloosa at the time of Iowa Yearly Meeting in 1891 and issued a recommendation for a conference.

This was accepted by the various Yearly Meetings on the Continent, except Canada, yet not fully as to details, most of the Yearly Meetings not considering themselves bound to continue to send delegates to future conferences unless it seemed best. Baltimore instructed its delegates not to take part in voting in case any question should be settled in that way.[1] The conference was unlike any that preceded it in the fact that the representation to it was in proportion to the membership of the respective Yearly Meetings, and unlike the one of 1887 in having no representatives from Great Britain, Ireland, or Canada. In this conference the great question was that of "pastoral labor," and a minute on the subject was adopted. The delegates from Baltimore, most of those from North Carolina, and a number from Kansas objected to the minute on the ground of its indorsement of the appointment of pastors, which they felt was a serious interference with the true liberty of the membership at large and the development of strong Christian character. Probably, however, the strongest weapon used against the "pastoral movement" was forged by those who favored it, for in the course of the discussion the real meaning of it was brought out, and it was stated without contradiction that it placed the ministry on a

[1] As a matter of fact, no question was decided by vote during the conference.

financial basis and meant a professional class. These statements attracted a great deal of attention and comment, and brought a number to think that the time to review their position had come. The reaction is, however, but slight, and probably is not found in those places where the system has attained its fullest development. It is an interesting fact that statistics of growth in the Society do not bear out the claim that the increase in numbers has been in proportion to the adoption of the "pastoral methods." In the East certainly the proportional increase has been greatest in those meetings (excluding Philadelphia, where special conditions prevail) where there have been the fewest innovations of this kind. In the West there has been great growth in some places under it, and in other places

Foreign Missions.

With increased interest in home work the interest in the foreign field has also been aroused. Though in the earlier part of their history Friends were foremost in this work, during the next century their activity in this line of labor almost ceased. Early in the present century, such men as James Backhouse and George Washington Walker, of England, and later Daniel Wheeler undertook long and important journeys in Africa, Australia, and the South Sea Islands. Toward the middle of the century Eli and Sybil Jones, of Maine, both of them ministers of remarkable power, visited Africa, and in 1865 Syria. They were the means of starting a mission on Mount Lebanon and one at Ramallah, not very far from Jerusalem. The former is now under the care of English Friends, who were much earlier in the field of systematic mission work than American Friends, and the latter is under the care of New England Yearly Meeting aided by other Yearly Meetings. The work of foreign missions has extended, and now nearly all the Yearly Meetings have special committees on the subject, and in addition to this there has been formed the Woman's Foreign Missionary Union of Friends, which is an active body having branches in most of the Yearly Meetings. The conference of 1892 proposed the establishment of a central Board of Foreign Missions, whose duties should be to give information and promote unity of action on the part of the different Yearly Meetings rather than to act as a controlling force. A sufficient number of Yearly Meetings have agreed to this to cause it to be established, and steps looking to this end are being taken.

Lack of space forbids even a *résumé* of the missions, but in Japan, Syria, Mexico, and Alaska are flourishing mission stations, while to the missions of the English Friends in

Syria, China, India, and Madagascar substantial aid is extended, and individuals have gone to the Congo State and elsewhere. A monthly paper, called the "Friends' Missionary Advocate," is also published. In addition to this many Friends are much interested in the McCall missions in France.

It is believed that the Orthodox Friends are the only ones who are engaged in organized foreign mission work.

In the foregoing sketch it will have been seen that the Friends acquired, through much suffering, first toleration, and then freedom both in civil and religious matters, not only for themselves but for all men. Some have thought that their mission is ended, but there still seems to be need of them to emphasize the non-essentiality of ordinance and ritual, the spirituality of true worship, the direct communication of the will of God to the individual, and the priesthood of all believers.

HISTORY OF THE

OF

THE UNITED BRETHR

BY

REV. D. BERGE

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PREFACE.

THE necessary limitations of the space allotted to the sketch which follows have required that it should be presented in the most condensed form. Out of a large amount of material, choice had to be made as to what should be used or what should be passed over. It was the writer's judgment that the general Christian public would be more interested in the earlier than in the more recent or later history of the church, and he has accordingly given the larger amount of space to features pertaining to its origin and early development. This is followed by a view of its doctrinal position and its general polity and organized forms of work. A closing chapter follows, which presents in very brief outline a statement of the conflict which for years troubled the church, and the crisis to which it recently led.

The writer takes pleasure in acknowledging his indebtedness to Dr. A. W. Drury's "Life of Otterbein," Spayth's "History of the United Brethren Church," Lawrence's "History of the United Brethren Church," "The Life and Journal of Bishop Christian Newcomer," and other sources named in the bibliography which appears herewith. Statistics showing the numerical strength of the church are incidentally referred to in chapters v. and vi. For a fuller view of statistics the reader is referred to volume i. of this series, as given by Dr. H. K. Carroll, on the basis of the United States census of 1890.

D. BERGER.

DAYTON, OHIO, March, 1894.

THE UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY PERIOD, 1752–1774.

1. *Preliminary.*

THE Church of the United Brethren in Christ took its rise in the revival movement which prevailed in America, with marked power, during the latter part of the eighteenth and opening years of the nineteenth century. In the colonies, previous to the war of the Revolution, a low state of spirituality had for a long time existed, and this condition continued after independence had been achieved and the new States had entered upon their separate national career. The churches in the colonies, as is usually the case in new countries, had been dependent on the churches in the Old World for ministerial supplies, and many of the recruits were no more spiritual than were the churches to whom they came to minister. In the midst of the prevailing spiritual dearth there was great need of new forces and the awakening of new life. The early missionaries of the Methodist movement, whose work proved so effective in America, had not yet come, being preceded by a number of years by the arrival of the young and devoted mission-

ary who was destined, under the leadings of Providence, to become the founder of the United Brethren Church. As the history of the movement which led to the founding of the church is so largely the history of the founder and his early co-laborers, the story will be best told by a brief sketch of the men themselves, together with the work which they were led to achieve.

2. *Birth and Early Years of Mr. Otterbein.*

The central, and in every way the most conspicuous, figure in this history, whose name stands as that of the founder of this branch of the Christian Church, is the Rev. Philip William Otterbein. Mr. Otterbein was born in the town of Dillenburg, in the duchy of Nassau, Germany, on the third day of June, 1726. Dillenburg was for some centuries, in the older Germany, a town of considerable importance, as the capital of a line of princes some of whom gained note in history. Among these was William the Silent, who became king of Holland, and to whose memory a noble monument has within recent years been reared on the site of the ancient castle which for centuries defended the city, and which was destroyed in 1760. The duchy of Nassau is now included in the Prussian province of Hesse-Nassau, and is found in the present map of Germany under the name of Wiesbaden. The town of Dillenburg was early distinguished for its Latin school, its female seminary, and for the high character of its citizens.

The history of the Otterbein family, preserved from the middle of the seventeenth century, presents a number of names distinguished for learning and piety. Mr. Otterbein's grandfather, his father, and his father's brother were

It will be remembered that while Mr
his companions came to America under
the Reformed Church of Holland, they w
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their work in this country lay among cong
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the colony of Pennsylvania at that time
ninety thousand, and of this number some
one third were adherents of the German R
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proceeded to Philadelphia, and soon afte
field of work with the congregation at Lan
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gregation, and he found it necessary to r
and administer discipline with a firm h
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religious life, and which gave tone to all his subsequent service in the gospel, was connected with his ministry at Lancaster. It was during the earlier part of his residence here when he preached one Sabbath morning with more than his usual fervor, his subject being the necessity of thorough repentance for sin, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ as a personal and conscious Saviour. After the service, a hearer who had been deeply moved by the potency of his appeal came to him with anxious heart, asking for spiritual counsel. Mr. Otterbein, whose fervent discourse had been largely the outcrying of his own unsatisfied spirit, replied: "My friend, advice is scarce with me to-day." He retired from the pulpit to his closet to wrestle in prolonged struggle for a fuller experience of the regenerating power of the gospel, and a more satisfying witness of the Spirit to his personal salvation. That this struggle continued until he found in fullest measure the light he sought, and that he himself regarded it as a crisis of profound importance in his spiritual life, is evident from one of his replies to a series of questions propounded to him late in his life by Bishop Asbury, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The question referred to was: "By what means were you brought to the gospel of God and our Saviour?" Mr. Otterbein's answer was: "By degrees was I brought to the knowledge of the truth while in Lancaster." From the earlier earnestness and zeal of Mr. Otterbein in his pulpit ministrations, the constant emphasis which he laid on the necessity for a deeper spirituality among professing Christians, and the devoutness and purity of his own personal life, we are hardly permitted to interpret this answer as meaning that he here found his first experience of conversion. We are rather to infer that

saw in the gospel of Christ. This grace he now realized in a most precious sense, and this experience became the key to the manner and spirit of all his subsequent ministerial life. It was the proclamation of the necessity for this deeper inward spiritual experience, and his insistence upon it as a duty of every adherent of the church, that brought him afterward into painful conflict with brethren whom he greatly esteemed and loved, and which also led the way for the ultimate organization of the church of which he became the founder.

The subsequent pastorates were in Tulpehocken, an early German settlement embracing portions of Lebanon and Berks counties in Pennsylvania, a commodious church building being situated in Lebanon County; in Frederick City, Md.; in York, Pa.; and in Baltimore city, where he remained up to the end of his life. Before his going to Baltimore various other congregations extended to him earnest calls, the church in Philadelphia, then the most influential of the Reformed congregations in America, being especially urgent in pressing its wishes.

Early in this period, but notably during his ministry at York, Mr. Otterbein began to make those visits to other places adjacent to, or even distant from, the places of his residence which afterward became so prominent a feature of his life-work. These visits were largely of a character such as would now be called evangelistic, and were especially intended to awaken an interest in deeper personal piety and a more fervent spiritual life. Of this feature of his work more is to be said hereafter. Its importance will be perceived when it is understood how great a bearing it had in bringing about those conditions which resulted in the organization of a new denomination in the family of Protestant churches in America, the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.

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CHAPTER II.

SECOND PERIOD, 1774–1789.

1. *Otterbein in Baltimore.*

THE year 1774 marked an important era in the history of Mr. Otterbein's work in America. Assuming charge in the city of Baltimore of an independent congregation, he was in a position to hold fraternal relations with, and, in time, to exercise a general spiritual oversight over, congregations which on account of their advanced evangelical position had become either in part or wholly separated from their parent denominations. Step by step, and without any purpose on his part to form a new and separate religious denomination, Mr. Otterbein was led onward in a course which, under the shaping hand of Providence, ultimately led to this result. It should be distinctly noted that he did not at this time, and indeed not for many years afterward, entertain any thought of such separate organization. Like Mr. Wesley, the leader of the movement which gave Methodism to the world, he was disposed to cling to his own mother-church, and, in fact, he never did formally separate himself, nor was he by any formal action of the cœtus ever separated from the German Reformed Church. His practical coöperation with the Reformed Church toward the close of his life ceased, but his friendly feeling toward that church never changed, and his name remained on the records of the cœtus up to the end of his life. But his work, for which God seems to have espe-

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the year 1770 grave troubles arose in
the evangelical party desiring, on spec
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proving unsuccessful, they decided to se
from the congregation, and in 1771 pur
building, and soon after began the e
house. The ground so obtained, sit
Street, Howard's Hill, is that upon whi
old historic brick church which was e
Otterbein's pastorate, in 1786. The tit
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of this trust, transmitted from time to
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pects that this congregation presents an interesting feature in early United Brethren history. Ecclesiastically, the congregation was separated from the German Reformed Church, though for several years earnest efforts were made by the cœtus to bring about a reconciliation between the two congregations. The pastor of the first church having finally resigned to make room for harmony, the congregation immediately, without conferring with the evangelical party, chose another pastor, who was even less acceptable to them, and further efforts at reunion were abandoned. In 1774 Mr. Otterbein was solicited to take the pastoral care of the new congregation, Francis Asbury of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who at this time had not yet met Mr. Otterbein, but had heard of his evangelical work, using his good offices, by means of a courteous letter, to secure Mr. Otterbein's acceptance. After due consideration, Mr. Otterbein accepted the proffered charge; but while he retained to the end of his life a nominal relation to the cœtus of the Reformed Church, and for many years attended regularly its sessions, the independence of the congregation remained intact, nor did Mr. Otterbein in any degree intermit those evangelistic labors in other places in which he had so long been accustomed to engage. He was now in the full vigor of his mature life, being forty-eight years of age, and having been twenty-two years engaged in the pastoral work in America.

The enlightened Christian thought of the present day, a time in which the spirit of Christian unity is widely cherished among Protestant denominations, regards with disfavor all movements having the appearance of schism. Yet in times past, under the providence of God, separation was sometimes a source of the greatest good. When true spiritual life was repressed, and dead formalities, often associated with even gross immoralities, held sway in the

church, and those who sought to live godly lives were mocked and scoffed at, and even persecuted by their unspiritual associates in the church, such separation became sometimes a necessity. The history of the Christian Church abounds with illustrations of this kind. Unhappily, such a low state of spiritual life prevailed extensively among the churches in America in the period which brought to this country Otterbein, and, shortly after him, the leaders of the Methodist movement. On this subject the testimony of distinguished writers in other churches, as Dr. Nevin, of the Reformed, and Dr. Kurtz, of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, is strikingly in point. Dr. Nevin, who strongly disapproved Mr. Otterbein's methods, says this of the prevailing condition of things in Mr. Otterbein's time, in his twenty-eighth lecture on the Heidelberg Catechism, published in 1842: "To be confirmed, and then to take the sacrament occasionally, was counted by the multitude all that was necessary to make one a good Christian, if only a tolerable decency of outward life were maintained besides, without any regard at all to the religion of the heart. True, serious piety was indeed often treated with marked scorn. In the bosom of the church itself it was stigmatized as *Schwaermerei*, *Kopfhaengerei*, or miserable, driveling Methodism. The idea of the new birth was treated as pietistic whimery. Experimental religion in all its forms was eschewed as a new-fangled invention of cunning impostors, brought in to turn the heads of the weak and lead captive silly women. Prayer-meetings were held to be a spiritual abomination. Family worship was a species of saintly affectation, barely tolerable in the case of ministers (though many of them gloried in having no altar in their houses), but absolutely disgraceful for common Christians. To show an awakened concern on the subject of religion, or a disposition to call on God in daily secret prayer, was

to incur certain reproach. . . . The picture, it must be acknowledged, is dark, but not more so than the truth of history would seem to require."

That Dr. Nevin was not writing with the thought of defending those who participated in the revival movements of that time is quite evident from what he further says. After speaking of losses sustained by the Reformed Church through defections to other denominations, he proceeds to speak of distinct organizations which he says "started forth originally from the Reformed Church itself, and have since acquired very considerable volume, made up in great measure of German material, though not all gathered from the Reformed connection. Otterbein, of Baltimore," Dr. Nevin specifically continues, "at a comparatively early period (1789) became the founder of one of these organizations. He was a good man, who seems to have been driven into a false position by the cold, dead temper that he found generally prevalent in the regular church."

To the same purport as to the religious state still prevailing in the older churches in the early part of the present century, is the following from the pen of Dr. Benjamin Kurtz, in "The Lutheran Observer" of January 12, 1855: "Some thirty-five years ago [1820], when God in his mercy sanctioned our labors with a glorious outpouring of his Holy Spirit, and for the first time in our ministry granted us a mighty revival, the opposition of the world and of the devil was almost unparalleled. A revival in the Lutheran Church was a new thing in that day. We had never heard of but one, and that was in Brother Reck's church in Winchester, Va. He can testify to the bitterness, malevolence, and awful wickedness that characterized the adversaries of such divine visitations, in those days of ignorance, hardness of heart, and spiritual blindness."

This low condition of religious life which prevailed so

every minister who might hold membership in the congregation to "care, to the best of his ability, for the various churches in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, which churches, under the superintendence of William Otterbein, stand in fraternal unity with us." The instrument provided fully for the self-perpetuation of the church, prescribed the manner of filling vacancies in the pastorate, eldership, and trusteeship, and embraced very fully such regulations as pertain to the best forms of church life. It was duly signed, on January 1, 1785, by the pastor, the official boards—consisting of three elders and three trustees—and the entire membership. The number of the members was not large, but the church was strong in spiritual power, and was thoroughly equipped for effective Christian work. The smallness of the number may be accounted for in part by the fact that Mr. Otterbein's pastoral labors were much divided, he being frequently absent to visit other places, and in part by the limitations of the field presented in Baltimore in the comparative smallness of the German population. Further, the movement which prompted the organization and continued existence of the church was not a popular one, the requirement laid upon its adherents to lead godly and zealous lives necessarily restricting membership in the church to such as were willing to make sacrifice for Christ's sake, to lay aside a worldly spirit, and obey the closely defined rules adopted by the society.

This distinct place of this congregation, as apart from the German Reformed Church, is indicated in the name it assumed in the first article of the twenty-eight rules, where it is called "The Evangelical Reformed Church." In the charter for the church, obtained thirteen years afterward,

used rather as a descriptive term than as a part of the name itself.

3. *Associates in the Work.*

The name of Martin Boehm has already appeared in these pages. From the prominence which he attained in the work, and from the fact that the denomination with which he stood connected furnished a considerable number of adherents to the early United Brethren Church, a further reference both to him and his people will be in place. We have already seen that the Mennonites, of which church Mr. Boehm was an honored member, came to America in large numbers on the invitation of William Penn, to find in the New World religious liberty and escape from the persecutions to which they were subjected in the Old, especially in Switzerland and Germany. The first settlement was made at Germantown, long since included in the city of Philadelphia, numerous other colonies finding homes in Lancaster and other counties of eastern Pennsylvania. Adhering to the tenets of the founder of the sect, Menno Simonis, they led lives of great simplicity, rejected a paid clergy, declined holding civil office, refused taking oaths and going to war, rejected infant baptism, and sought, according to their conception, to reintroduce the church life of the apostolic age. Their ministers were chosen by lot from among the members of the congregations they were to serve. Much stress was laid upon the outward marks of religion, notably as regarded dress, the austere plainness which has characterized several other denominations being rigidly insisted upon. In that period of general spiritual decline the American Mennonites were not an exception to the prevailing conditions, and a true spiritual experience was largely substituted by the outward forms of religion, while, however, an exemplary morality

in prayer. At length he paused in the midst of the field, and falling upon his knees earnestly poured out his heart to God. He did not rise until he felt the divine power coming upon him and his soul filled with unutterable peace. He at once returned to his house to tell the good news to his wife, and on the following Sabbath he had a new story to tell to his congregation. All heard with profound interest, and some wept profusely. From this time forward he became a warm, earnest, and successful preacher of the gospel of a new birth in Christ. Notwithstanding the fact that his preaching differed so radically from that of his brethren, it did not for some time bring him into disfavor. In the year following, 1759, he was advanced, after the order of the Mennonite Church, to the rank of a full pastor, by them called a bishop, the latter name applying to the chief spiritual head of any congregation. Mr. Boehm soon found himself impelled, as Mr. Otterbein was—though they did not meet until some years afterward—to preach the gospel of experimental salvation to others besides those of his own congregation. Hence we find him visiting numerous places to declare the living Word, his preaching bearing precious fruit. "Great meetings"—*grosse Versammlungen*, as they were called—were at different times appointed, where he found opportunity to preach the Word to great numbers of hearers. It was at such a "great meeting," at Isaac Long's, in Lancaster County, where, as already related, Mr. Otterbein met Mr. Boehm for the first time, about 1766–68, and where the eminent leader of the future movement first recognized personally in his humble brother a true fellow-laborer in Christ.

Mr. Boehm after a few years devoted himself with great activity to the promotion of the revival movement, chiefly among the people of his own denomination, and with a

success corresponding happily with that of Mr. Otte
among German Reformed congregations. In time, l
ever, the displeasure of his more conservative bret
was aroused, and after much endeavor to dissuade
from a course which they regarded as fanatical, they
much caution and apparently sincere regret excluded
from their fellowship. He accepted joyfully this repr
and continued unswervingly in his course. When, a
years advanced, the Church of the United Brethren
organized, he was chosen, next to Mr. Otterbein, tc
office of a bishop in the denomination, a distinctio
which by his commanding influence and position, as
as by his excellent abilities as a preacher and his di
guished piety, he was worthily entitled. His death
curred in 1812, the year before that of Mr. Otterbei
having reached the advanced age of eighty-seven yea

Among the most efficient of Mr. Otterbein's co-lab
was George Adam Geeting, a man of fair culture,
amiable spirit, and great power to attract and move a
ences. Mr. Geeting was born in Germany, in 1741,
the place of Mr. Otterbein's birth, and like Mr. Otte
was a member of the German Reformed Church. Co
to America in his eighteenth year, he found a hom
the Antietam, in Maryland, where he remained throug
his life. Possessing a good education, he taught sc
for some time during a part of each year. Mr. Otte
from 1760 onward preached occasionally at Antietam
it is believed that Mr. Geeting was among his ea
hearers there. Experiencing the grace of conversio
soon became active in the religious work of the neigl
hood. His earnest and devout spirit commended hi
the people, and during the long intervals between m
terial visits they prevailed upon him to read to the
occasional sermon on the Sabbath days. Mr. Otte

hearing of this, and of the auspicious results following, directed that at his next appointment when he was about to begin reading some brother should take the book out of his hands. This was actually done, and Mr. Geeting, left thus suddenly to his own resources, delivered at once a very edifying address of exhortation and counsel. He soon after became much engaged in ministerial work, and a few years later was ordained to the office of the ministry in the German Reformed Church by Mr. Otterbein and Dr. Hendel. He became a member of the cœtus, maintaining his standing in that body until 1804, when his name was erased on account of his prominent connection with the revival movement. We have already seen that the name of Mr. Otterbein was never erased, though his offense was the same in kind as that of Mr. Geeting, and certainly greater in degree. To these names should be added that of Christian Newcomer, who became a bishop in the church on the death of Mr. Boehm, and to whose writings the church is indebted for a record of much of the history of that early period; that of J. G. Pfrimmer, who was one of the most laborious and successful of the early ministers; and many others whose active zeal contributed greatly to the success of the revival work.

It is a sincere pleasure to mention here the names of several of a group of very devout ministers of the German Reformed Church who retained permanently their active connection with that denomination, but who coöperated very heartily with Mr. Otterbein in his revival work. Foremost among these was Dr. William Hendel, a German by birth, a man of ripe scholarship and brilliant pulpit powers. His prominence in the church is indicated by the fact that he served as pastor at different times the leading Reformed congregations in America, among them those at Philadelphia and Lancaster. His high standing

United Ministers," indicating that they coöperated under some formal bond of union apart from that of the cœtus and church of which they all were members. The type of the religious meetings which they thus sought to promote became a characteristic generally of the early United Brethren congregations, both before the formal organization of the church and afterward, and grew into a permanent feature of its usages. Just before the organization of these "classes" in the churches by the "United Ministers," and the holding of prayer and class meetings, the early Methodist missionaries had begun to arrive in America. But it is to be noted that Mr. Otterbein had held stated prayer-meetings long before their coming, as during his pastorate at Tulpehocken, in 1758 and 1759.

4. *The Early Methodist Missionaries.*

some conversions, he left no tangible organization. Mr. Boardman and Mr. Pillmore, sent out by Mr. Wesley, reached New York in 1769. Two years later, in 1771, Francis Asbury and Richard Wright arrived. The following year Mr. Asbury met Mr. Schwope, and became deeply interested in the account he heard from him of Mr. Otterbein and the work in which he was engaged. We have already seen that Mr. Asbury, in 1774, used his influence to induce Mr. Otterbein to assume the pastoral care of the independent church in Baltimore. On the day of Mr. Otterbein's arrival in that city the two for the first time met. Of this meeting a note remains in Mr. Asbury's journal, as do others of many more meetings between these friends as the years passed. Mr. Otterbein was now well advanced in the stages of middle life, being in his forty-eighth year, while Mr. Asbury was but in his twenty-ninth. In many other respects there were most striking contrasts between them, but in heart, in zeal, in a true consecration to a great purpose, they were one. For forty years, to the end of the life of the elder, the strong ties thus early formed remained unbroken.

It was an interesting proof of the affection of Mr. Asbury for Mr. Otterbein that when he was consecrated to the office of bishop he desired Mr. Otterbein to assist in the solemn service. The first General Conference of the Methodist Church was held in the city of Baltimore in December, 1784. It was presided over by Dr. Coke, whom Mr. Wesley had especially consecrated as superintendent of the Methodist work in America. Mr. Asbury, though he had been preaching from his sixteenth year, was as yet unordained, and held properly the rank of a layman. On the first day of the conference, December 25th, he was ordained by Dr. Coke to the grade of a deacon, Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, elders ordained by

Mr. Wesley, assisting. On the next day he was ordained to the office of an elder, and on the third to the office of superintendent or bishop. Before this last consecration took place he requested that Mr. Otterbein might be associated with the other ministers in the solemn ceremonies, and this was accordingly done.

Other illustrations of the profound mutual regard and intimate relationships existing between these two eminent men abound, but must be passed over. One or two notes, however, from Bishop Asbury must be added as especially showing his high estimate and affectionate veneration for his elder brother Bishop Otterbein. In 1812, the year before Bishop Otterbein's death, referring to the German fathers of the United Brethren Church, Bishop Asbury said in an address: "Preëminent among these is William Otterbein, who assisted in the ordination which set apart your speaker to the superintendency of the Methodist Episcopal Church. William was regularly ordained to the ministry in the German Presbyterian Church. He is one of the best scholars and greatest divines in America. Why, then, is he not where he began? He was irregular. Alas for us! the zealous are necessarily so to those whose cry is, 'Put me in the priest's office, that I may eat a morsel of bread.' . . . Such was not Boehm; such is not Otterbein; and now his sun of life is setting in brightness. Behold the saint of God leaning upon his staff, waiting for the chariots of Israel!"

The subjoined is from Bishop Asbury's journal. Bishop Otterbein died November 17, 1813, his age being nearly eighty-seven and a half years. His remains were interred by the side and near the present entrance of the church in which he had so long proclaimed the words of life. Four months later, in March, 1814, the Methodist Conference held its session in Baltimore, Bishops Asbury and

McKendree presiding. By the desire of the conference Bishop Asbury preached a discourse on the life and labors of Bishop Otterbein. The service was held in Mr. Otterbein's church; the entire conference, Mr. Otterbein's bereft congregation, and many of the ministers of the city were present. In reference to this event Bishop Asbury made the following note: "By request I discoursed on the character of the angel of the church of Philadelphia, in allusion to William Otterbein, the holy, the great Otterbein, whose funeral discourse it was intended to be. Solemnity marked the silent meeting in the German Church, where were assembled the conference and many of the clergy of the city. Forty years have I known the retiring modesty of this man of God, towering majestic above his fellows in learning, wisdom, and grace, and yet seeking to be known only to God and the people of God."

1. *The First Formal*

It has already been said tha
tant to take any steps that mi
the appearance of schism, and
inclined toward encouraging
In heart he was loyal to the
he had been born and nurture
father and grandfather had be
which his brothers so continu
mother. He was not insensil
this church in the struggle for r
land and Germany, and with t
ever fresh in his cultured mi
affection which time and much
disapproval on the part of man
obliterate or diminish. He w
tion or habit a separatist; bu
scious of the low state of spi
alent in the American church
ambition to awaken among the
ination, as far as might be po

pily found some who were ready to labor with him to the same end, especially in the encouragement of meetings for prayer and experience, as has been already stated. But this form of work, particularly the insistence upon a truer spiritual life, was not widely popular for a time, and his course drew upon him much disfavor among brethren whom he sincerely loved, and with whom he would have greatly preferred to continue laboring in unbroken fellowship. But God, whose counsels are above the purposes of men, overruled his wishes and led the way toward results which he did not for a long time anticipate.

How long the special semi-annual meetings of several of the Reformed ministers, as already spoken of, continued to be held, does not appear. The minutes which are preserved show that they were begun in May, 1774, and continued at least to June, 1776. Fourteen different places are named where "classes" were organized, with leaders appointed over them to conduct the special services. These, however, do not represent all the different local churches which had become interested in the revival movement. And as these were all connected with the Reformed Church, further account is to be taken of congregations of the Mennonite denomination, which, under the leadership of Mr. Boehm and others, were equally advanced in the revival work.

In the gradual development of the work it became necessary to supply many of these congregations with preaching beyond that which the ministers were able to give them. To meet this want lay preaching began at first to be provided, some of the leaders of the classes developing into preachers. They were generally plain men, with limited education, but earnest and spiritual. With a deep consciousness of their own insufficiency, and relying greatly on prayer and the help of the Holy Spirit, they declared

the simple truths of the gospel in a direct and effective way, and often with immediate and most gratifying results. Some of them continued in their secular callings, preaching on the Sabbath days, and frequently on other days and evenings. Others soon gave themselves wholly to the work, visiting widely separated places, and preaching the Word to many different congregations.

For a number of years the preaching of these men continued under the general direction of Mr. Otterbein and Mr. Boehm, the work to be done being outlined by them, and the preachers going here and there as they were appointed. Their plans of work were frequently arranged at the "great meetings," and on other occasions as opportunity offered. As time progressed it became desirable to place a larger share of responsibility for the work upon the preachers themselves. For this purpose it was thought desirable to invite a general council of all the preachers, or of as many as could be gathered together. This council, the first formal conference of the ministers of the future United Brethren Church, was held in the parsonage of Mr. Otterbein's church in Baltimore, in the year 1789, fifteen years subsequent to Mr. Otterbein's settlement over the independent congregation in that city, and twenty-three years after his first meeting with Mr. Boehm. The records of this conference show that seven ministers were present, including Mr. Otterbein, Mr. Boehm, and Mr. Newcomer; also that seven others, who were not present, were then in regular standing with them, making fourteen in all. This list does not include any names except those of the men who came into full coöperation with the United Brethren Church. Of these fourteen, nine were of German Reformed antecedents and five of Mennonite. The people, however, whom they represented were more diversified in their earlier church relationships.

2. *Confession of Faith Adopted.*

This conference has a special historical significanc United Brethren annals as being the first formal confere held, and as really effecting the organization of the chu by forming and adopting a confession of faith and a b of rules of discipline.

The following is the simple and comprehensive inst ment as adopted to express the faith of the infant chu It is plainly founded on that ancient declaration of Christian Church, the Apostles' Creed, and was undou edly drawn up by Mr. Otterbein himself, and presuma in previous use in his own congregation in Baltimore:

"In the name of God we declare and confess before men, that we believe in the only true God, the Fat the Son, and the Holy Ghost; that these are one— Father in the Son, the Son in the Father, and the H Ghost equal in essence or being with both; that this created the heavens and the earth and all that in them visible as well as invisible, and furthermore sustains, g erns, protects, and supports the same.

"We believe in Jesus Christ; that he is very God man, Saviour and Redeemer of the whole world; that men through him may be saved if they will; that Jesus has suffered for us; that he died and was bur rose on the third day, ascended into heaven, and that will come again, at the last day, to judge the quick the dead.

"We believe in the Holy Ghost; that he proceeds f the Father and the Son; that we through him must sanctified and receive faith, thereby being cleansed f all filthiness of the flesh and spirit.

"We believe that the Bible is the Word of God; t it contains the true way to our salvation; that every t

Christian is bound to acknowledge and receive it with the influence of the Spirit of God, as the only rule and guide; and that without repentance, faith in Jesus Christ, forgiveness of sins, and following after Jesus Christ, no one can be a true Christian.

"We also believe that what is contained in the Holy Scriptures—to wit, the fall in Adam and redemption through Jesus Christ—shall be preached throughout the whole world.

"We recommend that the outward signs and ordinances—namely, baptism and the remembrance of the Lord in the dispensing of the bread and wine—be observed; also the washing of feet when the same is desired."

Professor A. W. Drury, D.D., in his admirable volume, "The Life of Rev. Philip William Otterbein," makes the following very just remarks on this instrument: "The confession may be taken as a reflection of Mr. Otterbein's mind, and when regarded as a whole, it is simple and majestic. It impresses by what it includes, by what it omits, and by its doctrinal savor. It rests on the Apostles' Creed and the New Testament, and adds only those necessary specifications in regard to the application and mission of the gospel that even the simplest of the later creeds have been compelled to include. The closing part grew out of a particular exigency. The glory of the creed is that while Mr. Otterbein drew it together, he did not make it; that while he used old material, he appreciated every word and element that he employed, and that he was neither biased by obsolete forms nor by recent controversies. The creed might be called a working creed—a fit creed for a revival people, whose defense is rather in the heart than in the armor."

The "particular exigency" to which Dr. Drury alludes, in reference to the closing paragraph of the creed, relates

to important differences in beliefs and usages as between the Reformed and Mennonite churches. The Mennonites practiced the washing of feet, regarding the example of Jesus, as in John xiii. 1–17, as the institution of an ordinance for the church. They also practiced only adult baptism. The Reformed Church practiced infant baptism, but not the washing of feet, not regarding the act of Jesus as the institution of an ordinance. Those ministers and people who came from the Mennonite Church into the new compact could not at once lay aside their traditional beliefs and practices on these points; neither could those coming from the Reformed Church adopt them. But they could each, in the exercise of a generous Christian concession, agree that all should be free to follow in these things their own sincere convictions. The spirit of this concession was strictly apostolic, the reflection of the broad Christian charity and forbearance which constituted the glory of the first church council in Jerusalem (Acts xv.). And equally was it in harmony with the spirit of concession as taught in that early church manual, the recently discovered "*Didache*," or "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." In the instructions relating to baptism this ancient document says: "And touching baptism, thus baptize: having first declared all these things, baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in living water. But if thou have not living water, baptize in other water; and if thou canst not in cold, then in warm. But if thou have neither, pour on the head water thrice in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit."

This spirit of mutual concession still remains in the United Brethren Church with respect to the ordinance of baptism, alike with regard to mode, as by immersion, sprinkling, or pourjng, and to adult or infant baptism. In all these particulars the fullest freedom of individual con-

CONFERENCE OF 1791.

duties in the supervision of the work, and extended tours were made in visiting the churches, and encouraging and directing the work of the ministers.

3. *Conference of 1800—Mr. Otterbein and Mr. Boehm Elected Bishops—Name of the Church Adopted.*

The third formal conference was held near Frederick City, Md., in the year 1800. This conference was especially distinguished by two events. The first was the election of two superintendents, or bishops, Mr. Otterbein and Mr. Boehm being chosen to that office. For a number of years previously they had discharged the practical duties of this office in an unofficial way. Now the same service was rendered by the formal consent of the ministers to whose work they gave direction.

The second important step taken by this conference was the adoption of the full name of the church, that which it has continued to bear to the present time. Up to the time of this conference the people who had been thus providentially drawn together into Christian fellowship were called by the ready and appropriate name of United Brethren. But since other organizations had borne the same name, it was suggested that in future misapprehensions might arise, and even legal difficulties in respect to deeds, wills, or bequests. It was therefore thought best to add the further designation "in Christ," the full name thus becoming "United Brethren in Christ."

The church and its work being thus brought to a more perfect organization, conferences began now to be held annually. At the Conference of 1805 Bishops Otterbein and Boehm were reëlected to office, the election having been omitted by the Conference of 1804 on account of the smallness of the attendance of the ministers by reason

of the prevalence of a violent epidemic. The fact of their reëlection in 1805, and the record of the reason for the failure to hold an election in 1804, is regarded as evidence that it was the purpose at that early period to elect the superintendents for quadrennial terms. Bishop Otterbein, it should be observed, did not retire from his position as pastor of the church in Baltimore, while adding to his duties the office of general superintendent. He continued regularly in his pastoral relation up to the end of his life.

4. *The First General Conference.*

The first General Conference of the United Brethren Church was held in the year 1815, and this year thus became of great historic importance to the church. The missionaries of the revival movement had multiplied in the countries westward. Many preaching-places had been established in Ohio and Indiana, and some in Kentucky. The center of their greatest activity was in southwestern Ohio, in the Miami Valley; and when in 1810 the first conference west of the Alleghany Mountains was organized, it was called the Miami Conference. Meanwhile the eastern work had been divided into three conferences, known respectively as the Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia conferences. These four conferences were represented by an aggregate of fourteen delegates in this initial General Conference. The conference was held at Mount Pleasant, Pa., commencing on the 6th of June. Bishops Otterbein and Boehm, each venerable in years and rich in good works, had passed on to the eternal reward. Bishop Otterbein, as already noted, had died in December in the year 1813, while Bishop Boehm had preceded him the year before, the two being of almost equal age. Bishop Newcomer, who had already been associated with

them in the office of superintendent to relieve these venerable fathers of burdens which had become too heavy for them, presided over this first General Conference. He was rechosen to the office, and the Rev. Andrew Zeller was elected to be his associate. The Confession of Faith previously adopted by the Conference of 1879 was, with a few amendments, reaffirmed. The general interests of the work were passed under careful review, and various steps were taken to promote its efficiency.

Among the most important of these was the arrangement and adoption of a book of discipline, the object being to secure and maintain homogeneity in faith and practice throughout all the various portions of the church. Indeed, it was chiefly for the purpose of providing such a book of rules and regulations that this General Conference was assembled, the call for the conference originating in the Miami Annual Conference. The book of discipline adopted was an expansion of that agreed upon by that earliest of all the formal conferences, convened in the parsonage of Bishop Otterbein's church in Baltimore, in 1789. The book of discipline, including the Confession of Faith, was now for the first time printed. No essentially new feature of church polity was adopted. The practice of the church as already familiar was embodied in the rules. The itinerant system of ministerial supply for the churches, already so well tested as to its efficiency, was more clearly defined and adopted as the settled policy of the church. The essential features of this system have undergone but slight amendment to the present day, the most important change being the elimination of the time limit as to the pastorate by the General Conference of 1893.

The names of the members of this first General Conference of the church were as follows: Christian Newcomer, Andrew Zeller, Abraham Hiestand, Christian

Berger, Abraham Mayer, John Schneider, Henry Kumler, Daniel Troyer, George Benedum, Abraham Troxel, Henry G. Spayth, Isaac Niswander, Christian Krum, and Jacob Baulus.

It should here be remembered as a fact of considerable interest, that up to this time, and for some years after, nearly all the ministers of the United Brethren Church preached only in the German language. The business of the conference was transacted in German, and the book of discipline as first printed appeared only in that language. The widening contact with people speaking the English language began gradually to create a necessity for preaching in that language also. The change proceeded slowly at first, but has in the lapse of years become so thorough that at the present time less than four per cent. of the congregations worship in the German language. The comparative slowness of the growth of the church in its earlier periods may be attributed in part to this exclusive use of the German, and to the fact that constant losses were experienced by the transfer, especially of the younger converts, to denominations using the English language. This was particularly true of the Methodist Episcopal Church, whose ministers affiliated very closely with those of the United Brethren Church, preaching in common with them in the same houses, and often holding protracted meetings jointly with them. The methods of work of the two denominations being so nearly identical, the question of language frequently determined the choice of converts when connecting themselves with the church.

"ARTICLE II.

Of Creation and Providence.

"We believe that this triune God created the heavens and the earth, and all that in them is, visible and invisible; that he sustains, protects, and governs these with gracious regard for the welfare of man, to the glory of his name.

"ARTICLE III.

Of Jesus Christ.

"We believe in Jesus Christ; that he is very God and man; that he became incarnate by the power of the Holy Ghost and was born of the Virgin Mary; that he is the Saviour and Mediator of the whole human race, if they with full faith accept the grace proffered in Jesus; that this Jesus suffered and died on the cross for us, was buried, rose again on the third day, ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God, to intercede for us; and that he will come again at the last day to judge the living and the dead.

"ARTICLE IV.

Of the Holy Ghost.

"We believe in the Holy Ghost; that he is equal in being with the Father and the Son; that he convinces the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment; that he comforts the faithful and guides them into all truth.

to acknowledge and receive it by the help of the Spirit of God as the only rule and guide in faith and practice.

"ARTICLE VI.

Of the Church.

"We believe in a holy Christian Church, composed of true believers, in which the Word of God is preached by men divinely called, and the ordinances are duly administered; that this divine institution is for the maintenance of worship, for the edification of believers, and the conversion of the world to Christ.

"ARTICLE VII.

Of the Sacraments.

"We believe that the sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, are to be used in the church, and should be practiced by all Christians; but the mode of baptism and the manner of observing the Lord's Supper are always to be left to the judgment and understanding of each individual. Also, the baptism of children shall be left to the judgment of believing parents.

"The *example* of the washing of feet is to be left to the judgment of each one, to practice or not.

"ARTICLE VIII.

Of Depravity.

"We believe that man is fallen from original righteousness, and apart from the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ is not only entirely destitute of holiness, but is inclined to evil, and only evil, and that continually; and that except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of heaven.

"ARTICLE IX.

Of Justification.

"We believe that penitent sinners are justified before God, only by faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and not by works; yet that good works in Christ are acceptable to God, and spring out of a true and living faith.

"ARTICLE X.

Of Regeneration and Adoption.

"We believe that regeneration is the renewal of the heart of man after the image of God, through the Word, by the act of the Holy Ghost, by which the believer receives the spirit of adoption and is enabled to serve God with the will and the affections.

"ARTICLE XI.

Of Sanctification.

"We believe that sanctification is the work of God's grace, through the Word and the Spirit, by which those who have been born again are separated in their acts, words, and thoughts from sin, and are enabled to live unto God, and to follow holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.

"ARTICLE XII.

Of the Christian Sabbath.

"We believe that the Christian Sabbath is divinely appointed; that it is commemorative of our Lord's resurrection from the grave, and is an emblem of our eternal rest; that it is essential to the welfare of the civil community, and to the permanence and growth of the Christian Church, and that it should be reverently observed as a

"ARTICLE XIII.

Of the Future State.

"We believe in the resurrection of the dead; the future general judgment; and an eternal state of rewards in which the righteous dwell in endless life, and the wicked in endless punishment."

The Confession, it will be observed, is Arminian in type, corresponding in this respect with one of Mr. Otterbein's twenty-eight rules as adopted for the government of his congregation in Baltimore. The fact is especially worthy of remark since Mr. Otterbein's antecedents were of the Calvinistic school of faith.

2. *Constitution.*

A book of discipline containing rules for the government of the church was first published in 1815. As time advanced it was thought wise to embody in a constitution certain principles as fundamental to its general polity, and for giving direction and affixing limitations to ordinary legislation. Such a constitution was adopted by the General Conference of 1841, following a tentative constitution adopted in 1837. It remained in force until 1889, when, in accordance with the action of the General Conference of 1885, it was amended, along with the Confession of Faith, by the popular vote of the church, as already referred to. By the General Conference of 1889 the constitution as thus amended was declared to be the organic law of the church.

The adoption of the Revised Confession of Faith and Amended Constitution by the church, and the formal declaration of the fact by the General Conference of 1889, having been made the occasion for the secession of a small

ganization by them of a separate conference, a further reference will be made to this fact, and some events which followed, in later pages. (See chapter vi.)

3. *Government of the Church.*

The highest governing power of the church is vested in the General Conference, a body whose sessions are held quadrennially. The members of the General Conference are delegates chosen by the entire church-membership, ministers and laity voting together, a given ratio of delegates being appointed to each Annual Conference district. The bishops are *ex-officio* members. Since the adoption of the amended constitution of 1889 the laity are eligible to seats in the General Conference, no distinction being made on the basis of sex. In the recent General Conference of 1893 laymen were for the first time present as members of the body, and two seats were occupied by lady delegates. The qualifications of delegates for membership in the General Conference are defined by the constitution. The General Conference is the law-making power of the church, having authority to revise or amend the book of discipline within the limitations prescribed by the constitution. It has no power to change or amend the constitution or the Confession of Faith, but it may originate amendments which after submission to a popular vote in case of the constitution, or to the Annual Conferences in case of the Confession of Faith, may be adopted.

The General Conference has control over the publishing interests of the church, over its general Missionary Society, the Church Erection Society, the Sunday-school work, the Young People's Christian Union, and Union Biblical Seminary. It elects the various boards of management,

managing officers. It also elects quadrennially the bishops of the church. It fixes the boundaries of the Annual Conference districts, and exercises care over the connectional interests generally.

Next in position below the General Conference is the Annual Conference. This body consists primarily of ministers, in two classes, itinerant and local, the latter in a steadily diminishing ratio. Some years ago laymen were made eligible to membership in this conference. They are chosen by the local congregations, or charges, in the proportion of one to each charge, their membership expiring with the annual session for which they are elected. The chief function of the Annual Conference is to supervise the interests of the local churches, appoint annually the pastors to the several charges, hear reports of the pastors, and pass upon their character and efficiency. It provides also for the ordination of candidates for the ministry, after due examination as to fitness in experience, training, and otherwise. It elects presiding elders, who exercise a kind of sub-episcopal supervision over the pastors and their charges. Next in order below the Annual Conference is the Quarterly Conference, a body composed of the ministers and various local church officers of any charge. Its sessions are held four times annually, the presiding elder being the chairman. And still below this body is the Official Meeting, whose sessions occur monthly, the pastor being the presiding officer. The chief function of these two bodies is the care of the various interests of the local charges.

4. *Episcopacy.*

Episcopacy in the United Brethren Church exists in a greatly modified form. As a feature of its polity it

reëlected both these men, after which the elections, as also the sessions of the General Conference, became quad-

6. *Ministerial Supply.*

The method of pastoral supply in the United Brethren Church is that known as the itinerant system. This plan came to be accepted through the exigencies of the early days. The followers of Otterbein and Boehm were to a large extent a rural people, or resident in smaller towns. The congregations being widely scattered, and unable to employ settled pastors, had to be provided for by visits of ministers who traveled for this purpose from place to place. This method of supply became in time a settled system, and in the lapse of years has proved itself a most thoroughly effective way for propagating the gospel.

The pastoral term, limited at first to a single year, was afterward extended to two, and then to three, years. The General Conference of 1893 abolished all limitations as to time, and pastors may now be annually reappointed for an indefinite period. The appointments are made at the Annual Conference, by a Stationing Committee, consisting of the presiding bishop, the presiding elders of the year just ended, and those elected for the year ensuing. The appointments as made are usually final. The right of appeal to the conference is permitted if a minister is dissatisfied, but it is seldom exercised. In a connection of forty years with one of the largest of the conferences the writer of this has not known a single instance.

7. *Forms of Worship.*

In forms of worship the United Brethren Church conforms to the practice of most of the Protestant churches. Its methods are simple and flexible. In modes of baptism, as already noted, it permits liberty of choice, as also in regard to infant baptism. A simple freedom exists as to forms generally. Throughout its history it has insisted

more upon a thorough conversion and a godly and consecrated life, assigning a minor importance to external forms. It seeks earnestly to promote revivals, but no less to build up its converts in knowledge and spiritual experience.

8. *Republicanism.*

The church by its constitutional and legislative enactments makes large provision for the exercise of the elective franchise. The appointing power is almost unknown. In the General Conference all officers and members of boards are chosen by the votes of the members. In the Annual Conference presiding elders and members of conference boards are chosen in the same way. In the local church or society class-leaders and stewards are chosen by the popular vote. Trustees of church or parsonage property are elected by the Quarterly Conference. The General Conference itself, both as to its ministerial and lay delegates, is chosen by the vote of the people at large, the voting being done by Annual Conference districts. Thus while a thorough and very effective government is provided for, the voice of people and ministers, in the enjoyment of equal privileges, is constantly heard; and while the General Conference is the highest legislative and judicial body of the church, the final power, as in the case of the Congress and highest civil magistrate of the United States, rests with the people. If the General Conference enacts laws that do not meet their approval, they hold in their hands the power to choose a succeeding conference which shall represent their will.

9. *Attitude on Moral Reforms.*

On questions of moral reform the United Brethren Church has generally sustained a radical attitude. On

the subject of slavery the first General Conference, in 1815, placed in the book of discipline a decided declaration of condemnation. This was followed, in the Conference of 1821, by strong prohibitory legislation. The enactment forbade the buying and selling of slaves by members of the church, required the immediate manumission of certain classes, and provided for the early manumission of all others. This last legislation was followed soon after by other enactments which prohibited all ownership of slaves, under any circumstances whatsoever, by members of the church, on pain of expulsion. This rule, though working apparent hardship in many cases, was strictly adhered to. One result was that while the church was already well established in Maryland and Virginia, its growth in other slaveholding States was either greatly retarded or altogether prevented.

On the evils of intemperance the voice of the church was also heard at an early day. The first utterance by the General Conference was at the session of 1821, at a time when the drinking, making, and vending of ardent spirits was as common among church-members as among others, and when temperance societies did not yet insist upon total abstinence among their members, but required only moderation in the use of liquors. The rule adopted by the conference was several times amended, until in 1841 it became strictly prohibitory. The form then adopted read: "The distilling, vending, and use of ardent spirits as a beverage are hereby forbidden throughout our society." This prohibition remains unchanged, but the following amendment has since been added: "As are also the renting and leasing of property to be used for the manufacture or sale of such drinks, as is also the signing of petitions for granting

as a whole stands as a strong and active force opposed to the liquor and saloon evil, which at the present time holds such unfortunate sway in our country.

On the subject of secret societies the church from its early periods held radical grounds, and, in time, this sentiment was ingrafted into both its constitution and its general legislation. Bishop Otterbein, like Mr. Wesley, founder of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and many other leaders of Christian sentiment of that time, looked with disfavor upon the masonic order. Bishop Boehm was born and reared in a church—the Mennonite—which, like the Society of Friends, discountenanced all oaths, and was naturally averse to a Christian taking an oath not required by civil law. The followers of these distinguished leaders readily adopted their views, and opposition to secret societies, at first chiefly because of the oaths taken, became a settled principle in the book of discipline of the church. We shall see in a subsequent part of this sketch that the sentiment of the church has undergone great change with respect to the attitude church legislation should hold in reference to secret orders.

In general, it may be remarked that on all important questions of reform the United Brethren Church has, in the past, been found occupying advanced grounds, and at the present time it yields a full support to all movements looking to the purifying of public and private morals, and the promotion of the best interests of the church and state.

CHAPTER V.

FOURTH PERIOD, 1815–1894—GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT.

1. *The Missionary Work.*

It has been remarked that up to the time of the first General Conference, and for some years afterward, the German language was almost exclusively used by the ministers of the United Brethren Church. With the gradual change to the English opportunities for successful work increased, and a corresponding expansion followed, the work at the same time taking on more largely a missionary character. The ministers, following the tide of emigration westward, established the church in all the newer Territories and States as they were formed, until it extended from the place of its beginning to the Pacific coast. To the prosecution of this form of work greatly increased energy was imparted after a more definite organization was effected by the formation, by the General Conference of 1853, of the Home, Frontier, and Foreign Missionary Society. A board of directors was chosen, and the necessary officers elected, the Rev. J. C. Bright becoming the first general secretary. In the following year the board determined upon the founding of a mission on the West Coast of Africa. Rev. W. J. Shuey was chosen its first missionary, with Rev. D. K. Flickinger and Rev. D. C. Kumler as his associates. They sailed in January, 1855. The location first chosen was soon abandoned, and a permanent location was afterward established by Mr. Flick-

eligible point sixty miles south of Freetown, Sierra Leone. This place, as the fixed headquarters of the mission, has attained a position of great importance. A training-school for the education of native preachers and teachers has been established here, and is in successful operation. The mission now covers a considerable extent of territory, embracing about three hundred preaching-places. Eighteen missionaries, American and native, are employed in the work, and the church-membership is about 4350. There are 5 schools under the care of the missionaries, with as many teachers, and about 450 pupils; and 14 Sunday-schools, with about 475 pupils. In the training-school, according to the latest published statistics, there were 18 in course of preparation for the native ministry, with about 80 others in the preparatory department. The whole number of missionaries in the service of the church, including those in the home and frontier fields, is about 375. A mission in Germany has been successfully conducted for a number of years. It has a conference of 8 ministers, with 18 congregations and 773 communicants.

A Woman's Missionary Association was organized in 1875, which has proved a most efficient factor in the missionary work of the church. Its board of managers, immediately after the organization, determined upon the formation of a mission in Africa. A location was chosen sufficiently near to Shaingay to make coöperation with the general board practicable, yet far enough removed to open the work of the gospel to entirely new territory. Rotufunk, the headquarters of this work, has become an important missionary center, and valuable buildings for the use of the mission have been erected there. The mission employs 18 missionaries, of whom 12 are native, has 151 preaching-places, and a membership of 1632, with several Sunday and

week-day schools. The Woman's Board has also successfully conducted a mission among the Chinese at Portland, Ore., and has recently established a mission at Canton, China.

A Church Erection Society was organized in 1872 by order of the General Conference. Until 1889 its management was under the care of the missionary board; since then it has been controlled by a special board.

2. *The Publishing Department.*

The first periodical publication issued in the name of the church was the "Zion's Advocate," a small paper printed at Salem, Ind., under the auspices of the Miami Annual Conference. It was begun in 1829, and was short-lived. In 1833 the General Conference resolved upon the publication of a paper for the church. The first issue appeared in December of the following year, under the name of "The Religious Telescope." Under this title it still remains as the leading official paper. The publishing-house, at first located at Circleville, O., was in 1853 removed to Dayton, O. Although originally called the Printing Establishment of the United Brethren in Christ, for many years it has been known as the United Brethren Publishing House. At the time of removal it became deeply involved in debt, but by careful management this incumbrance was entirely removed by 1880. It has now become a valuable property, its net assets aggregating over three hundred and thirty thousand dollars. A full line of periodical publications, thirteen in number, weekly, monthly, and quarterly, in English and German, and an extensive list of books, are issued from the house. Among the periodicals, in addition to the "Religious Telescope," are "Our Bible Teacher," "Young People's Watchword," "Woman's

Evangel," and the "Quarterly Review." The combined circulation of the periodicals at present is about three hundred and ninety-two thousand. The establishment is elaborately equipped for every kind of work pertaining to a high-class publishing-house. Its book-store is one of the largest and best in the central West, its patronage extending to ministers and members of all denominations. The house is under the control of a board of trustees and a publishing agent, elected by the General Conference. As a department of church work, the institution has been especially distinguished for its success.

3. *The Sunday-School Work.*

The Sunday-school work of the church enlists a large interest among its people. This is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that while the membership of the church, according to the statistical reports for 1893, including ministers and people, was 208,452, the Sunday-school enrollment for the same year—officers, teachers, and scholars included—was 261,368, an excess of 52,916 over the church-membership. The publishing-house furnishes a full line of literature of a high character for the schools. The Sunday-school work is under the oversight of the General Conference. A Sunday-school board and general secretary are elected by the conference, whose duties, however, do not relate to the publication department.

4. *The Educational Work.*

The church has under its care 18 educational institutions. Of this number 11 are colleges, 6 academies, and one a theological seminary. The first of these institutions, Otterbein University, located at Westerville, O., was

founded in 1847. The theological school, Union Biblical Seminary, located at Dayton, O., was founded in 1871. The whole number of professors and teachers, according to the latest statistics, is 161; the whole number of students in attendance is 3089. Of the latter number 176, including 53 in the theological seminary, are in course of preparation for the ministry. Some of these institutions possess valuable property, and are gradually building up helpful resources in endowment funds. The work of education commands much interest in the denomination, while the number of schools is felt to be too large to insure a good support. The General Conference exercises a supervision over the whole work through a board of education which it elects quadrennially. Only the theological seminary, however, is under its immediate control, through a board of trustees elected by the conference, all the other institutions being under the direction of the Annual Conferences.

5. *Young People's Christian Union.*

dred local societies, and a membership of about thirty-five thousand.

The officers of the general church boards are located in the publishing-house at Dayton, O., with the exception of the educational and seminary boards, whose headquarters are at the seminary.

6. *Catholicity.*

The United Brethren Church cherishes toward other bodies of the great Christian family a broadly catholic spirit. It coöperates readily and with the fullest heartiness in all general movements which engage the interest of other Christian bodies. In doctrinal position it is classed as Arminian. In general typical characteristics its place is found with the Methodist family of churches, and this fact has been courteously recognized by the leading Methodist bodies in the invitations extended to it to participate in their general or ecumenical councils. Yet, as has been seen in these pages, the church is in no sense an offshoot from the Methodist Episcopal Church, nor indeed was it formed through any schismatic movement from any source, but rather through a spontaneous and necessary movement under the manifest direction of the divine Spirit.

In spirit the church is earnest and hopeful, relying greatly on the direct offices of the Holy Spirit for its success. Its ministers generally are earnest toilers, who fulfill their office with much personal sacrifice. Revivals are largely encouraged, and the traditional prayer and experience meetings instituted by Bishop Otterbein are regularly sustained.

7. *Personnel.*

The necessary limitations of these pages have permitted but little reference to distinguished names in the denomination. The work performed and the results attained have

been presented as fully as space allowed, while the workers have been chiefly left out of view. And yet it seems scarcely just to dismiss this sketch without further mention of at least a few names of those who have rendered eminent service in building up the church to its present proportions. Among the earlier names that should have

CHAPTER VI.

CONCLUSION—RECENT HISTORY.

It would not be proper to conclude this sketch without a brief reference to a chapter of recent history. The early attitude of the church with respect to secret societies has been alluded to in previous pages. For a long time a sentiment of opposition to such orders was almost unanimous, as was apparent from various votes taken in the General Conference at successive sessions, particularly during a period of some twenty-four years succeeding 1841. In that year, when a constitution was formed for the church, this sentiment was adopted into that instrument, connection of members of the church with secret orders being prohibited. The subject coming up frequently at General Conferences, almost a complete unity of sentiment was apparent until the session of 1869. During the quadrennium preceding this session more liberal views found encouragement, and about one fourth of the members were found favorable to a modification of the extreme position held by the church. In the succeeding conferences this sentiment showed steadily growing gains, until in the Conference of 1885 the majorities were so reversed that about two thirds of the members were found to be liberals. The predominating feeling among these, however, was not that of approval of secret orders, but they believed that liberty

with such orders, or that at least legislation on the subject should be less rigorous. Every session of the General Conference from 1869 to 1885 had been marked by heated discussions, and frequent amendments were made to the prohibitory rule adopted under the constitution to secure greater effectiveness. These debates became sharper in tone as it was found that the liberal sentiment was making gains in the church. The liberals, finding themselves at last so greatly in the majority, and believing that the general judgment of the church would fully sustain them, took measures looking toward amending the constitution, having this point and some other important matters in view, particularly that of securing lay representation in the General Conference. This form of representation had been introduced into the Annual Conferences a number of years previously. For its introduction into the General Conference an amendment to the constitution was necessary. The action taken by the General Conference, appointing a commission on amendment, provided also for the revision of the Confession of Faith. An account of the work of this commission, with the vote of the church at large upon the adoption of the amendments and the result of that vote, has been given in chapter iv., sections 1 and 2. It is sufficient to repeat here that after the fullest consideration and discussion upon the amendments for a period of nearly three years, the adoption of most of them was carried by an almost unanimous popular vote, while the one receiving the smallest support was carried by a much more than a two-thirds majority.

During the long discussion preceding the time of taking the vote the leaders of the radical party, that is, the party favoring extreme legislation on the secret society question, exerted themselves with much activity to check the advancing growth of liberal sentiment, and to hold the church

to its traditional attitude of extreme conservatism. But the sentiment which from 1865 had, through ample discussion and much untoward experience, been steadily gaining both among ministers and people, was not to be turned back. The church desired more liberal legislation and a broader freedom, and so declared in a most emphatic way.

In the General Conference of 1889, held in the city of York, Pa., matters were brought to a decisive issue. The church having given its voice, nothing remained for the General Conference to do except to inquire whether all the steps taken had proceeded in proper form, and whether the several amendments to the constitution and the Confession of Faith had been duly supported by the vote of the church. This question being affirmatively determined, the conference approving by a vote of 110 to 20, the bishops so announced to the conference, declaring at the same time that thenceforth the conference would act under the Amended Constitution and the Revised Confession of Faith. This announcement was followed by the immediate withdrawal of 14 delegates and 1 bishop from the conference room. The conference at the time consisted of 126 delegates and 6 bishops. The withdrawing members, whose plan of action had been previously arranged, proceeded at once to another building which had already been secured for their use, and organized what they claimed to be the true General Conference of the church. Under this assumption they held elections for bishops and all other general officers and the various general boards of the church, and proceeded to transact such other business as is usual to a General Conference. As might be expected, they drew after them a following in the church, yet not of such extent as to impair in any considerable degree the efficiency of any of its working departments. The entire membership of the church at that time was 204,982. Of

The most important case that has come into the courts is that of the publishing-house at Dayton, O. The circuit court, a body intermediate between the Court of Common Pleas and the Supreme Court, after a long and very full hearing, gave a strong decision for the church. The case was carried by the seceders to the Supreme Court, where it is still awaiting a hearing. In the form in which it has gone to that court it is believed that only a verdict affirming that of the court below is possible.

The ground upon which the seceders base their entire claim is that the church, by the revision of its constitution and Confession of Faith, has lost its identity, and has ceased to be the United Brethren Church, and that they, the seceders, holding to the earlier Confession of Faith and the constitution of 1841, are the true church. The limitations of space do not here permit following the argument by which it is sought to support this claim.

In this very condensed view of this exciting period the writer has deemed it proper to state, as clearly as possible, only a few of the leading facts, a fuller presentation being here impracticable. It may, however, be said that while the withdrawal of any considerable number of persons from the church is sincerely regretted, the working power of the church is in no sense impaired. In numbers the church has already regained more than it lost by the defection, the statistics for 1893 showing a total membership of 208,452, while an issue that for a period of many years was a source of heated debate in the General and Annual Conferences, and often of trouble in the local churches, has been practically eliminated from further consideration.

As a closing word it will surely not be amiss, in this time of growing amity and friendly coöperation between churches of different names, to express the hope that

those who have gone from us may, when the r
which led them to separation shall seem less weight
now, be led to find their way back again into tl
from which they have departed.

STATISTICS FOR 1893.

Annual Conferences	
Organized churches	
Ministers—Itinerant	1,649
Local	481
Members	
Sabbath-schools	
Officers, teachers, and scholars	
Conversions in Sabbath-schools	
Young people's societies	
Members of same	
Church houses	
Parsonages	
Ministers' salaries	
Church expenses	
All other contributions	
Total for all purposes	$1,
Value of church houses	$4,
Value of parsonages	$
Value of church institutions	$1,
Total value of church property	$6,

HISTORY OF THE EVANGELIC

BY

REV. SAMUEL P. SP

EDITOR OF THE "EVANGELICAL MESSENGER," AUTH
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THE EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF THE EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION.

THE Evangelical Association took its rise in the eastern part of Pennsylvania, under the labors of that godly minister of the gospel, Jacob Albright, among the Pennsylvania Germans, descendants of German immigrants, who had colonized that section of our country in the eighteenth century. In order to understand the circumstances which led to the organization of this church, it will be necessary to sketch, briefly, the history of early German immigration, and the religious condition of these people in the latter half of the last century.

William Penn, the founder of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, gave the first impulse to this immigration by the guarantee of religious liberty in his colony. This proved a most attractive consideration to the victims of religious intolerance on the continent of Europe. The first colonies to emigrate from Germany left the Old World for the New from the same considerations that moved the Pilgrim Fathers who came from the British Isles in the "Mayflower," viz., to escape religious oppression and find religious liberty. The "Mayflower" of German immigration was the British ship "Concord," which landed in the

harbor of Philadelphia October 6, 1683, bringing among its passengers the first colony of Germans, who settled in Pennsylvania. The tide of German immigrants soon assumed gigantic proportions, so that, according to the historian J. D. Rupp, more than thirty thousand names of Germans, Swedes, and Dutch were numbered among those who settled in this country between 1727 and 1776. Many Germans at first settled along the Hudson River in the province of New York, where their nomenclature is still preserved in the names of many towns and villages. But the provincial government of New York was far from exercising that religious[1] toleration which was desired, hence these people sought a final refuge in the more liberal domains of Pennsylvania. These German immigrants were almost purely Protestant. They were men of energy and iron will, a good foundation for a new nation.

The causes of this extensive migratory movement from the land of Luther and the Reformation to the British colonies of the New World are not far to seek. Professor Seidensticker, in his "Geschichtsblätter," tells us that the motive was a religious one. Like the Puritans and Quakers themselves, these also sought escape from religious intolerance and found an asylum in America. Under the terms of the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, by which the Thirty Years' War was concluded, none but the Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed Confessions were recognized by the German Government. It was the triumph of state churchism in continental Europe.[2] Pietists, Mennonites, Schwenkfeldians—in fact, all who dared to differ from these confessions or to stand aloof from the recognized communions—were exposed to various forms of persecution. Among these the inhabitants of the Rhenish prov-

inces constituting the Palatinate were perhaps the most unfortunate. The Palatinate was one of the principal theaters of that bloody war, in which their lands were devastated and their homes destroyed by marauding troops under such barbarous leaders as Spinola, Mansfield, and the bloody Tilly, besides the ravages caused by the Spanish invasion under Gallas, in 1635. Successive storms of pillage, fire, and bloodshed devastated that unhappy land. Louis XIV. of France twice invaded these already devastated provinces. His well-known motto was: "A desert shall henceforth be the boundary of France." But, in addition to this, the Protestants of the Palatinate fell under the persecutions of Catholic rulers. The only hope of relief was emigration. Among those who thus left the devastated scenes of the fatherland to seek a home and freedom to worship God in the New World was John Albright, the father of Jacob Albright. He was one of three hundred and thirty German passengers who came to Philadelphia September 19, 1732, on the ship "Johnson."[1]

The spiritual and moral condition of these new settlers in the wilds of America became a deplorable one. They had freedom to worship God, but many influences tended to their spiritual deterioration. The struggle for subsistence, the battle for bread, the herculean task of subduing an interminable wilderness, absorbed time and strength, and prevented the cultivation of spiritual life. The effort to gain a home in the New World put into the background every thought of gaining a home in heaven. They were almost entirely without competent spiritual leadership. Here were, according to Professor Horne's "History of Lehigh County," two hundred and eighty thousand Germans, of all shades of religious belief, peopling the eastern section of Pennsylvania, with scarcely a spiritual leader

[1] "Rupp's "Thirty Thousand Names," pp. 75, 76.

among them, certainly none whom they would al
They were, of course, the scattered sheep of vario
as well as many of the established or recognized
sions. There were, indeed, a few good and no
among them. Rev. Henry M. Muhlenberg, f
University of Halle, labored quite successfully am
scattered and neglected members of the Luthera
munion, Rev. Michael Schlatter, a Swiss pastor, pe
a similar service among the Reformed, besides Co
zendorf, the pious founder of the Moravian Brot
But what were these among so many? Upon th
the people were like sheep without a shepherd.
ganized, untaught, worldly-minded as they were,
dition of society became deplorable in the extre
best there was but a form of godliness; to the pow
of they were for the most part entire strangers.
church edifices and without good pastors Sunday
a day of carousal instead of religious devotion. D
ness, profanity, and excesses became the order of t
A few pastors gradually came among them, but t
either political refugees, reckless adventurers, o
students from the German universities. Dr. Kur
"Church History," declares that crowds of ra
went forth from the German universities of Halle
Tübingen, Göttingen, and others, who for seven
held almost all the professorships and pastorates
estant Germany. The same authority assures us
the age of Frederick the Great there prevailed a
hostility to all positive Christianity, not only in G
but in France and in England. It was the age o
alism. Even the supernaturalism of the pietistic
and his co-religionists, by appealing to the inner
illumination, independent of the Word of God, as

[1] See Dorchester's "Christianity in the United States."

dote for the bald rationalism of Semler, drifted unwittingly away from the Word of God, and thus added new force to the general tendency of the prevailing school of thought.[1]

Indeed, the movement was European, and found many eager advocates in England, Germany, and France. An attack was made upon revelation, in the interests of what was termed natural religion. Simultaneously with the deistic movement in England a movement was in progress in Germany known as the "Aufklaerung." Its foremost exponents were Lessing and Reumarus, as disciples of Wolf. But it was in effect the same conflict between reason and revelation, between naturalism and supernaturalism. "Illuminism," says Bruce,[2] "is the idolatry of clear ideas." It was an exaltation of reason to the point of making revelation unnecessary. No wonder vital godliness decayed. The churches of the Reformation fell prey to an alarming degree to secularization. Religion was a mere matter of forms. The pulpits became mere "livings." The pastors of the state churches became rank infidels, and taught with immunity what they pleased. The worst and most degraded of these godless, infidel pastors emigrated to America. Dr. Timothy Dwight[3] said: "From France, Germany, and Great Britain the dregs of infidelity were vomited upon us." Here little inquiry was made into their past record or moral character; in fact, they were usually more popular if they led the people in drinking, debauchery, and general wickedness. They were a curse to the people instead of a blessing. They proclaimed license to all evil passions, and consistently practiced what they preached. They were wolves in sheep's clothing, hirelings who sought to fleece the sheep, not to save them.

[1] Kurtz's "Church History," vol. iii., p. 171.
[2] "Apologetics," 1893, p. 22.
[3] Dwight's "Travels."

Many were scapegrace students who had never graduated, and who were not really ordained ministers.

Bishop Meade, quoted by Dorchester, said: "The clergy were remarkable for their laxity of morals and their scandalous behavior, and there was no ecclesiastical discipline to correct or punish their vices." Said Rev. Leonard Woods, D.D., quoted by the same authority: "I remember when I could reckon up among my acquaintances forty ministers who were intemperate."

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in a pastoral letter in 1798, declared that: "Formality and deadness, not to say hypocrisy, a contempt for vital godliness and the spirit of fervent piety, visibly pervaded every part of the church. Profaneness, pride, luxury, injustice, intemperance, lewdness, and every species of debauchery greatly abound."[1]

This is not the place to cast blame upon any denomination for such a state of things. The facts are undeniable. They were characteristic of the time. Our German-American pioneers were the victims of a baneful reaction from the high tide of the Reformation. The English-speaking population of the colonies before the Revolutionary War, as well as after, was similarly afflicted. Liberalism held sway and gained a firm foothold in New England.

When Dr. Timothy Dwight became president of Yale College, as late as 1795, he found many of the students tainted with infidelity. Like Jonathan Edwards a century before him, President Dwight found himself under the necessity of defending vigorously the faith once delivered to the saints. One of the greatest services this distinguished man rendered to New England and the country was the vigorous and successful manner in which he drove infidelity from the college.[2]

[1] Dorchester's "Christianity in the United States." [2] *Ibid.*

In the midst of this spiritual desolation and ecclesiastical confusion Jacob Albright, the founder of the Evangelical Association, was born, near Pottstown, Pa., early in the latter half of that century of unbelief, May 1, 1759. The religious and social environment in which he grew to manhood are sufficiently indicated in the foregoing pages. The Revolutionary War added its share to the general religious demoralization. It impoverished the colonies, depleted the population, and seriously crippled the industries of the people. It occasioned, also, a frightful increase of drunkenness and licentiousness, as the government furnished liquor among the rations of the soldiers. As the Germans took a prominent and a noble part in that war for national independence, they also suffered proportionally from its evils. Infidelity and atheism flourished. Tom Paine's baneful book, "The Age of Reason," was printed in a German edition and widely circulated. Liberty was perverted into license, and religious toleration was abused by the clamor for irreligion, until the horrible fate of France, under the reign of the Goddess of Reason, brought the people to their senses. During this period gross immoralities increased to a fearful degree, among all classes of citizens.[1]

Meanwhile Methodism took its rise in America. Though introduced through a German woman, Barbara Heck, it spread chiefly among the English-speaking population. A few Germans, such as Henry Boehm, Jacob Gruber, and others, became Methodist itinerants, yet upon the whole there was no one sufficiently interested to encourage work among them. Thus, while the needed effort was being made, even in eastern Pennsylvania, to save the English-speaking people, practically no systematic effort was being made among the Pennsylvania Germans. Their condition became worse instead of better.

[1] Dorchester's "Problems of Religious Progress," p. 177.

Jacob Albright was baptized in infancy by a Lutheran pastor, and in due time received into the Lutheran communion by the usual rite of confirmation. But, as he himself says: "We knew nothing of true conversion; no trace existed of prayer-meetings, Bible studies, family prayers, Sunday-schools, or revivals. Hardly a show of godliness remained. The power thereof was outlawed as fanaticism. The salt had lost its savor."[1]

At the age of twenty he was married to Catharine Cope, and soon thereafter removed to Lancaster County, where he established himself in the business of manufacturing brick and tile, which was then a lucrative industry, owing to the custom in vogue at that time of roofing the houses with tile. By his systematic business methods and his industry he won for himself the *sobriquet* of "The Honest Brick-maker." During this entire period of his life Mr. Albright lived in a sort of religious twilight. Good impulses often struggled with the carnality of an unregenerated nature. In 1790 his family was sorely afflicted by the death of several of his children. At their funeral a Reformed minister, named Anton Hautz, who had a reputation for piety, preached. The stricken father was deeply affected by these sermons, and in fact dated his conviction for sin to them. He began to see his sinfulness. With penitential sorrow he resorted to prayer. He found himself in the condition described in Romans vii., and cried mightily for deliverance.

At last help came. Albright met a man named Adam Riegel, an independent lay preacher, who took a profound interest in his welfare, and labored in prayer and exhortation in his behalf, until, at length, the penitent found peace

To use his own language: "It was now no longer a burdensome business to do the will of God; my disposition was to hate sin; my delight was in God's service, and I experienced great happiness when engaged in communion with God."[1] Truly, he had passed from death unto life. He had been translated from the kingdom of darkness into the marvelous light and liberty of the people of God. He was consciously saved He had been made a new creature in Christ Jesus; old things passed away, behold, all things have become new. Or, to use the expressive phrase of Bishop John Seybert, "he was converted deep into eternal life." We emphasize this at this point, because Jacob Albright's conversion is the key to the origin, history, and providential genius of the church which resulted from his earnest and effectual labors. This conversion was the result of profound conviction, deep contrition of heart, thoroughly Scriptural repentance, and living faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. It was the foundation of Albright's unmistakable call to a peculiar mission, and the prime spiritual element of his qualification for the work.

Soon after his conversion Mr. Albright declared his adherence to the Methodists. Through the labors of Benjamin Abbott, Martin Boehm, and Bishop Asbury, a Methodist class had been formed, in the immediate neighborhood. Albright's nearest neighbor, Isaac Davis, was the class-leader. Albright, being a man of method and order, had no sympathy with ecclesiastical independency, which was at that time advocated by certain of his contemporaries, but found in the Methodist Church the order which he admired, and also congenial spiritual fellowship. He studied the doctrine and discipline of that church, and

a good knowledge of the English language, and took an active part in all their godly exercises.

As time passed and he matured in the grace of God, he became more and more impressed with the neglected condition of the Germans. Contemplation upon the sad state of affairs led to prayer. "Full of solicitude," he says, "I frequently cast myself upon my knees and pleaded with hot tears that God might lead my German brethren to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, and might send them faithful leaders, who should preach to them the gospel in power, awaken lifeless professors of religion, and lead them to a life of true godliness, so that they might be made partakers of the peace of God and of the inheritance of the saints in light. Thus I prayed daily. While I thus communed with God, a sudden light appeared in my inmost soul; I heard, as it were, at the same time, my own heart propound the searching question: 'Is it mere accident that has caused the miserable condition of thine erring brethren so deeply to affect thee? Was it an accident that thy heart, particularly *thy* heart, has been thus overwhelmed with sympathy for thy brethren? Is not this rather the hand of Him whose wisdom guides not only the destiny of the individual but of nations? What if his infinite love had chosen *thee* as his instrument to lead thy brethren to the way of life and to the reception of his saving mercy?' This thought at first startled, alarmed me. But as I considered it my heart felt easier. I gained confidence that God would answer my prayer. I heard, so to speak, the command of God: 'Go, work in my vineyard, proclaim my gospel in its purity with emphasis and power to my people, and trust to my fatherly love that those who hear and believe shall partake of my grace.'"

This was Albright's first call. But, clear as it was, he

shrank from the task. The spirit was willing, but the flesh was weak. The very clearness of the call made him tremble. And when he thought of the magnitude of the work, the difficulties and opposition that must be met and overcome, he felt himself insufficient. Especially did his lack of gifts and talents and of education appear to render him utterly insufficient. Like Moses, he pleaded earnestly that God might intrust this work to one more worthy and more efficient. Albright was no fanatic, much less was he an egotist. Nothing was further from his mind than unholy ambition or sordid motives. He hesitated long. But God laid the hand of affliction upon him. He suffered great bodily pain. His mind was ill at ease. A great weight oppressed his heart. Fear and trembling seized him, for through it all duty became still clearer, and more imperative its voice. At length he yielded. In a final surrender he exclaimed, "Lord, here am I, send me."

Notwithstanding Albright's self-depreciation, he was indeed a chosen vessel, the man for the hour. His very lack of specific literary and theological training gave him access to the common people. He was a man of energy and tact, and proved to be a capable preacher and a born organizer. Of German ancestry but of American birth, he was peculiarly fitted to begin a religious movement among German-Americans. Withal he was a man of sound judgment, penetrative intellect, sympathetic nature, and consecrated boldness and independence of thought. Soundly converted, deeply pious, conspicuously humble, a man of God, a man of and for the people. Conscientious and thoroughly disciplined by grace, he went not upon his own charges, but followed the urgent call of God, oppressed always by the feeling that "Woe is me if I preach not the gospel."

Albright began to preach in 1796. The principal

theater of his early operations was in the eastern counties of Pennsylvania, and in the States of Maryland and Virginia, in the latter State especially, along the Shenandoah Valley. He was persecuted almost as soon as he began his labors, but he had crossed the Rubicon. Nothing daunted, he toiled on, and God gave him souls. Up to the year 1800 no step had anywhere been taken looking toward an organization, or the establishment of any congregations. Albright himself had no such object in view. He simply followed the voice of God, to preach the gospel to his erring brethren and to lead those wandering sheep to the Shepherd and Bishop of their souls.

His labors as an itinerant among his German countrymen led him out of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The assertion that Albright *left* the Methodist Episcopal Church because it would not ordain him as a minister is utterly groundless. Nor did he cause a schism from that church, as Dr. Dorchester, in his "Christianity in the United States" (p. 479) seems to indicate. He took no one with him. He never proselyted, nor in any way opposed that church in its operations. He had no quarrel with it. On the contrary, he was in full accord with its doctrines and general polity. He simply followed the divine call. The leaders of the Methodist Church did not, at that time, wish to engage in work among the German Pennsylvanians, believing that the German language would soon become extinct in this country. Albright could have found a congenial home in the Methodist Episcopal Church, but the Lord of the church called him out into a special field.

CHAPTER II.

ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION.

MR. ALBRIGHT'S converts were widely scattered and isolated. They found none near them of like mind or of similar religious experience. Albright was as yet alone in the work, and his visits were necessarily few and far between. His converts were thus thrown upon most meager spiritual resources. Despised and hated by the regular churches of the time, they were indeed a cause of much anxiety to the pious preacher who had led them to Christ.[1] The conviction was forced upon him that if they were not to fall a prey to discouragement and the fruit of his labors be lost in the end, steps must be taken to introduce some kind of order, and to effect some sort of organization.

Accordingly, after much prayer, he ventured to establish several "classes." This was possible, however, in only a few cases, on account of the great distances between the homes of individual members. In Berks County, at the Colebrookdale Iron Works, a few lived closely enough together to be organized into a class. They were united into what was called Lieser's Class. Another, called Walter's Class, was formed near Quakertown, Bucks County, and a third, called Phillip's Class, in Northampton County. Class-leaders were at once elected, whose

[1] R. Yeakel's "History of the Evangelical Association."

duty it was to watch over the little societies
Christian order, and to hold regular prayer-m

This was the beginning of ecclesiastical
Nothing, however, was as yet done to effect
ganization. That was, in fact, a secondary c
In his mind, conversion, sanctification, and
were of paramount importance. The matter
tical organization was left subject to the forc
stances and the indications of Providence. He
a mustard seed, and it was beginning to gro
was as yet small, but it had within it the vit
he was willing to commit its destiny to the
church.

In reference to this organization of clas
himself said: "As I had now preached abou
and had been at special pains to proclaim
among such as were strangers to vital godline
tian order, I also sought by the grace given me
to instruct those who were awakened and co
how to work out their salvation in the unity
cording to the doctrine of Christ and his ap
blessed the effort, so that by means of this
who lived in darkness were brought to the lig

The classified membership at this time
twenty. The three classes were indeed smal
but could all the scattered sheep of Albrig
flock have been gathered, the membership
been considerably greater.

About this time Albright received his first
coadjutor in the person of John Walter, a yo
converted at the age of nineteen, during th
years of Albright's labors, and soon entered
ministry. He was without education, but hi

1 "History of the Evangelical Association," v

and his work. W. W. Orwig says
deed a son of thunder. Many w
they had never heard the like be
quence charmed the largest audie
home with telling effect. Withal
lower of Christ, entirely unassumin
apostolic zeal and energy in the w

In 1802 Albright held his first "
brookdale, which was greatly ble
" Big Meetings " were the inceptio
revival meetings, to whose succes
years the Association owes so m
vitality.

In 1802 the little flock increased
and another youth, Abraham Lie
first efforts to preach. But the mo
ing this year, 1802–3, was the hol
in the Association.

This council was held November
bright and his two youthful coadj
Abraham Lieser, fourteen of the p
the society were in attendance.
nized Albright as their spiritual

Scriptures of the Old and the New Testament Canon to be their rule of faith and practice, and gave Mr. Albright a written acknowledgment, signed by all present, reading as follows:

"We, the undersigned, as Evangelical and Christian friends declare and acknowledge Jacob Albright as a true Evangelical preacher, in word and deed, a confessor of the general Christian Church and the communion of the saints. Given in the State of Pennsylvania, November 5, 1803."[1]

This important historical document is the first written attestation of Mr. Albright's authority. His consecration occurred pursuant to this declaration, and was performed by the imposition of hands and solemn prayer by his two associates, John Walter and Abraham Lieser. This distinctive act finds its primitive prototype in Acts xiii. 1–3, where a company of teachers consecrated in similar style Barnabas and Saul to the work of the gospel, without the presence, the imposition of the hands, or other participation of any one of the apostles.

If it be said Albright was not ordained by an ordained minister, we reply, neither was St. Paul ever ordained by an apostle. We do not deny or oppose canonical ordination, but we deny the so-called "apostolical succession," as a myth which is neither taught by the authority of the Word of God nor demonstrated as a fact by indubitable historical data.

Albright's ordination, and with it the ecclesiasticity of the Evangelical Association, was at one time fiercely assailed, especially by Prof. J. W. Nevin, D.D., of Mercersburg Theological Seminary, who wrote against it with

the German Reformed Church discarded it by a formal resolution in Greencastle, Pa., 1849.

The Evangelical Association lays no claim to apostolic succession. She repudiates it, and bases her claim to a separate existence upon a higher ground. As Rev. R.

Providence and the Holy Spirit. In this line of succe the Evangelical Association stands."[1]

Thus the Evangelical Association holds her crede from a higher authority than that ostensibly handed through a long line of Roman pontiffs.

In view of her origin, her acceptance of the com orthodox faith of universal Christendom, her blessed successful labors, rewarded by the Lord of the ha with many sheaves, she is not open to the charge of b a schismatic sect, for these things plainly entitle h recognition as an humble but legitimate branch o Christian Church.

Albright was raised up to meet a crisis. No signal was the call of Martin Luther to institute a refo tion amid the decrepitude and corruption of the Euro church than was Albright's to plant anew the germ of godliness in the soil of German church life in this cou demoralized and corrupted as it had become by reas the evils pointed out in an earlier portion of this his He stands in direct line with Luther, Spener, Francke Count Zinzendorf of his own fatherland, and of Tyn Knox, Wesley, Whitefield, Fletcher, and Jonathan Edw of the English-speaking race. Like other reformer was in advance of the thought of his contemporaries.

God called Jacob Albright to be the apostle to Germans in America at the very threshold of the teenth century. The providential timeliness of the m

which he visited. His whole bearing, as well as his powerful preaching, made a most favorable impression. He was gentle in his demeanor and affable in his intercourse with the people. He was a magnetic personality. Many of the aged members of the church continued to the last to speak of him with the enthusiasm of a French soldier for Bonaparte.

In 1805 he lost one of his faithful co-laborers in the early death of the promising young preacher, A. Lieser. But the gap was soon filled by the appearance of George Miller, another youth destined to take a prominent part in the early stages of our history. Mr. Miller was a native of Berks County, a millwright and miller by occupation. He was converted in 1802. In describing his conversion Mr. Miller says: "After having sweltered and groaned for several years under my load of sin, the Lord in mercy delivered me out of my sad condition. On June 3, 1802, I wept and prayed all the day, while going up and down my mill, frequently falling upon my knees, and calling upon Almighty God for the pardon of my sins. I promised to serve him alone, no matter what the consequences, and when I thus in faith consecrated myself unto God, the Lord lifted upon me the light of his countenance reconciled. A stream of divine love flowed through my soul, and I received a clear certainty of knowledge that God is indeed my Friend, and that I am his child. Yea, I was so refreshed and quickened by the influence of grace and permeated with such a holy, inner calm, such contentment and exquisite pleasure, that I was constrained to praise and adore my Redeemer. I retired at night happy in God, and slept without a care. Next morning I observed

power of God in my soul. In brief, it appeared to me as though everything were engaged in enhancing my felicity, for God is my Friend."

This is an old-fashioned typical conversion in the Evangelical Association. It was in this way that Jacob Albright and the fathers experienced the work of regeneration; it was in this way that the spiritual life of their converts began, and was expected to begin. Emphasis upon this made their ministry a power, but made them appear also as antagonizing the formal church life of the times. They antagonized it, however, in the same sense in which Christ himself antagonized the law—by introducing a new and higher law, the law of love as the essence of the law—and they were exposed to the same popular misapprehension and unjust criticism. Their insistence upon thorough radical conversion and change of heart was the Holy Spirit's antidote for the existing formalism and corruption. For this reason, too, the work grew so mightily.

George Miller in 1805 became a traveling preacher. This was an important accession to the ministerial ranks. Miller was a powerful, incisive preacher, and his efforts were effectual indeed. Especially did he, as well as Albright and Walter, preach repentance. They showed men the depravity of their nature, the vileness of their sins. They were indeed burning and shining lights. Walter's sermons frequently were two hours in delivery. This was especially the case when he preached on the Judgment of the Last Day.

Albright, Walter, and Miller were now the three preachers of the Association—a happy triumvirate of grand men of God, who labored unitedly, and in great humility of heart. They wept before God, fasted and prayed, and then with hearts aglow they came before the

people with their simple message of unadulterated truth. Miller says of his own manner of labor: "I determined to begin the work with fasting and prayer, by the help of God to teach the truth of the gospel in unfeigned sincerity, even if I should not have the approval or favor of a single human being, only so that God should be satisfied with me. Therefore I wept much and prayed often on my journey from one appointment to the next, so that I might please God and be a blessing to my fellowmen."

That labor in such a spirit was successful will surprise no one.

The first Annual Conference, which was also in reality a General Conference, was held in 1807. This was the beginning of conference supervision. Up to this time the affairs of the Association had been personally directed by Albright, although not without counseling with other preachers and the leaders. These councils were informal, and held chiefly at "Big Meetings," where the presence of many made consultation convenient. This first regular conference was held in November, 1807, in the house of Samuel Becker, at Kleinfeltersville, Pa. It consisted of all the officers of the church. There were present five traveling preachers, three local preachers, and twenty class-leaders and exhorters—twenty-eight in all. Many important matters forced themselves upon the attention of this historic body. The church was as yet without rules or fixed laws; no discipline or creed had been formally adopted, and the society had not even a name. Albright was not as yet clear in his own mind as to the organization of a separate church. The conference temporarily adopted the name "The Newly Formed Methodist Conference." A preacher's license was drafted, and the first to receive such a license signed by Jacob Albright was John Dreisbach. It read as follows:

"Upon authorization of the Newly Formed Me
Conference, which has given a good testimony t
Dreisbach, and is willing to accept him as preacher
Association: I, therefore, the undersigned, do gi
permission to serve in the office according to our
and for which he is designated as preacher, on t
one year, provided he doth conduct himself becor

God has shown you, in which endeavor he will also give you his blessing."[1]

This godly man died in the home of George Becker, at Muehlbach, Pa., May 18, 1808. He attempted to reach home, but was too exhausted to go farther. His soul triumphed gloriously in the last hours of his life. The death-chamber was radiant with the divine presence. He took an affectionate farewell from all present, exhorting them to praise God for his grace. All present realized powerfully the presence of Jesus. The funeral obsequies were attended by a vast concourse of people. Among the throng were many who had been saved through his instrumentality. These were filled with holy joy because of the triumphant death of their beloved leader. The funeral sermon was preached by the eloquent John Walter, from Dan. xii. 3. Many unsaved persons were convinced of the error of their ways and afterward converted. New doors were opened to these despised preachers of the gospel. Thus Albright's death was the means of the salvation of sinners, as well as his life. His remains were buried in the little cemetery near by. The grave is marked by a simple marble slab, and later a memorial church was built near the spot, called the Albright Church.

The death of Mr. Albright filled the church with sorrow. Never did his presence and counsel seem so indispensable as now. The church was weak and scattered, persecuted and despised. The enemies of the work rejoiced immoderately, and predicted its sure and speedy disintegration. "They are fallen. Albright is dead. All is now over with these deceivers," shouted the rabble. But they were poor prophets. The little flock was only driven closer to God. Harmony prevailed. Unity of purpose was manifest, and the Lord prospered them, rais-

[1] "Albright and His Co-Laborers," p. 114.

ing up men to take Albright's place, and giving the
many souls. Albright had been hated for his goodne
and for his holy zeal. But his life was a testimony
overwhelming that its direct results were powerfully fe

the reputed Jacob Gruber, at that
In this way he would become fa
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exaltation and pride than in Dreisl

The latter answered that the '
of God to labor especially among
But the bishop rejoined that the (
not continue long in this country.
this counter-proposition: "Give
tricts, and conferences, and we will
church ours, will be one people,
ecclesiastical government." "Th
be inexpedient," remarked the bis

They parted with the best of fe
ing presented Dreisbach with a cop
of St. Paul," embraced him affect
his blessing. But they parted in
Bishop Asbury's remark has bec
union impossible at the time wh

it necessary she also labored among the Englisl population, doing everywhere the same work of ing the importance of sound conversion, vital and spiritual worship. God has blessed her I great success. She has flourished amid perse poverty, and has succeeded often where oth reaching especially the common people. To- represented in three languages upon the granc of the globe, North America, Europe, and Asia, lishing literature in all three of them. She has c in all the States of the Union north of Mason ar line, besides one (Texas) south of that line, a Canada. Two conferences are in Europe, and o ized in 1893) in Japan. About one third of th ship in America worships in English, and twc German. Most of these are more or less familiar languages; the two labor side by side in peacefu tion and mutual helpfulness, with an outlook and bright as the promises of God.

CHAPTER III.

LEADERS OF THE CHURCH.

DURING these years of slow and steady growth the Evangelical Association has been blessed with many noble leaders—men of spiritual power and immense influence—not so much among the learned as among the common people. One of the earliest after Albright, Miller, and Walter, whose characters have been briefly delineated in the preceding chapter, was John Dreisbach.

He was born June 5, 1789, in Northumberland County, Pa. His parents were pious and God-fearing. In 1806 he experienced a change of heart, and was licensed to preach at a quarterly meeting in 1807 by Jacob Albright. For fourteen years he served regularly in the itinerancy, the half of that time as presiding elder, being the first man ever elected to that office in the Evangelical Association. His district embraced the whole church. During the first six months of his life he had the privilege of frequent association with Mr. Albright, whose fatherly interest and wise counsel greatly aided the young preacher. Mr. Dreisbach bore an important part in the early development of the work of the church. As an itinerant he was active, zealous, and enterprising; as a presiding elder he was strictly disciplinary, methodical, watchful, and a consummate leader of men; as a preacher he presented the vital truths of the gospel in a comprehensive and analytical manner. His manly bearing, his mobile countenance, his expressive gestures, profound moral earnestness, and stern, logical com-

mon sense combined to make him an unusually impressive and effective preacher. As a theologian he was distinctively Wesleyan, thoroughly familiar with the Arminian system of doctrine. He made the doctrine of entire sanctification, as taught by Albright and Miller, particularly prominent, frequently inviting believers forward to seek this state of grace definitely in his camp-meetings and quarterly meetings. In a letter to Rev. R. Yeakel, written as late as 1869, he solemnly said: "If a time shall ever come when the Evangelical Association rejects this doctrine and discards it, then should Ichabod be written in the place thereof, for then 'the glory is departed from Israel.'"

As an ecclesiastical legislator in the General Conference he was invaluable. His comprehensive grasp of thought, his logical methods of reasoning, his profound and thorough acquaintance with the spirit, genius, scope, and mission of the Evangelical Association enabled him to devise laws and arrangements admirably adapted to the need of the church. Mr. Dreisbach was not inexperienced, either, as a civil legislator, having been a member of the State legislature of Pennsylvania during the years 1828 and 1829.

Mr. Dreisbach was a man of literary ability. In 1816 he edited jointly with H. Niebel the "Spiritual Psaltery," a hymn-book for popular use. He was also a hymn-writer of considerable prominence. It was he also who, with Mr. Niebel, the same year completed the revision of the discipline left unfinished by the death of George Miller. In October, 1854, he became editor of the English organ of the church, "The Evangelical Messenger," published in Cleveland, O. Ill-health compelled him to resign this important position April 16, 1857.

He was twice married, and the father of a large family, of whom he was able to say, late in life: "All of them

we believe, embraced religion in their younger days." He lived to a good old age, dying in triumph at Circleville, O., August 20, 1871, aged eighty-two years, two months, and fifteen days. His remains lie buried in Ebenezer Churchyard, Pickaway County, O., amid the scenes of his later life.

Another of this galaxy of men great in goodness was John Seybert. He was born at Manheim, Pa., July 7, 1791, of Christian parents, and born again, or, as he expressed it, "converted deep into eternal life" (*tief ins Ewige Leben hinein bekehrt*), June 21, 1810.

In 1819, after much hesitation and prayer and many a severe inward struggle, he yielded to the conscious call of the Holy Spirit, and began to preach. His sermons, at first, were not remarkably able or exceptionally brilliant. Like most of the early preachers, he lacked literary training, but was endued with the power of the Holy Ghost. He improved very rapidly, and in a few years became a preacher of extraordinary spiritual power, an itinerant of untiring zeal, and a missionary of wonderful intrepidity and enterprise. Phenomenal success attended his labors. He was the ideal pioneer circuit-rider. He entered the Eastern Conference in 1821. In 1825 he was elected presiding elder, and assigned to duty on Canaan District, Eastern Conference, reëlected in 1829 and assigned to duty on Salem District. In this capacity he not only superintended his district, large as it was, but helped his preachers extend their fields of labor, made frequent incursions into the regions beyond, and sought out new territory for the introduction of the gospel. At the expiration of his second term as presiding elder Seybert offered himself to the conference as a missionary. His offer was accepted, and he was accordingly sent forth to labor anywhere in northwestern Pennsylvania. He was to spend

the year in explorations and pioneer wo
exactly the character of the man and t
Evangelical Association, which from first
a missionary church.

At the General Conference of 1839 Jo
elected to the office of bishop. This was
election of a bishop under the discipline of
Association. Since the death of Jacob A
there had been no bishop in the church.
thus vacant for thirty-one years. John S
then, the first incumbent of the office as
vided in the book of discipline. For thi
was eminently fitted. His piety and ze
and courage, made him a safe example
power as a preacher, his skill as an admi
terprise as a leader, qualified him for th
was conservative in his attitude, yet pro
A man of broad sympathies and unboun
thusiasm, a thorough product of gospel
the peculiar cast of the Evangelical Asso
perfectly than any other man, incarnate
genius of the Evangelical Association. I
living representative of all that is distinctiv

The administration of Bishop Seybert
the history of the church. By his very
served to unify and consolidate the me
whole church. It gave new meaning a
connectional idea, and at the same time g
tion as well as masterful direction to the va
of the church. He was a born missionary
the church closely to the missionary ide
fostering, by precept and his own exampl
spirit. What added to his efficiency was t
Asbury, he was never married. This ma

him to be constantly on his journeys through the church. There were very few members whom the bishop did not visit; very few churches where he did not preach. He was everywhere, and everywhere at home. He kept himself in personal touch with the whole body of the church. This was of immense advantage to him and to the development of the work. He was reëlected by every General Conference until his death.

Bishop Seybert died full of years and labors, in the house of Isaac Parker, near Bellevue, O., January 4, 1860. His remains lie buried in the village cemetery at Flat Rock, O.

He was sixty-eight years of age at the time of his death. He served the church for a period of forty years in the ministry, without a furlough, vacation, or other interruption. In these forty years he traveled, per horse, 175,000 miles, preached 9850 sermons, made about 46,000 pastoral visits, held about 8000 prayer and class meetings, besides visiting at least 10,000 sick and afflicted ones. The writer of this sketch examined carefully Bishop Seybert's personal journal, and found that even in the journal not one day is omitted or unaccounted for during those forty years. Not a day but saw something attempted or accomplished for his Master. His last journal entry was made with his own hand, December 28, 1859, one week before the morning of his death. That entry was most suggestive—an epitome, in fact, of his whole life. It contained the laconic phrase, "One Soul Saved." With such a leader and such an example in the highest official position, it is no wonder the Evangelical Association flourished. No wonder that she fostered and developed a type of Christianity so much needed in this day and age of the world, that of staunch morality, deep spirituality, and flaming evangelism.[1]

Others deserve extended notice, but the r space compel us to content ourselves with a n of their names, a roll of honor of which any c well be proud. They are Henry Niebel, Bi Long, Bishop W. W. Orwig, Charles Hami von Gundy, John G. Zinser, Samuel Baumgai Fisher, and others.

These men were of heroic mold. They we in the eyes of the world, lacking many of that the world demands. But they were a sp They were morally great. Not learned in th scholar; not masters of rhetoric or of the eloqu in the schools; they were taught of God. T edge was experimental. Their power was spir weapons of warfare were not the carnal wea logic or pyrotechnics of speech, but they emp ual weapons. In their hands the Word of Go a two-edged sword, and they handled it, not but with the Holy Ghost sent down from he were no theological hair-splitters, though ma advocacy, exposition, and defense of the faith received and conceived it. They cared less f than for the spirit. They taught the gospel, no but as the power of God unto salvation. Th religion was their theme, and they carried with them in the spiritual energy of their own

1. They were truly converted. The tim there was not in all the ministry of the Evang ciation one man of whose genuine conversic any reasonable doubt. This is the ideal to th

2. They were divinely called—called by the to the ministry. They were taken from th plane, and the yard-stick, without college t divinely equipped, qualified, and commission

three years, who entered the minis
has read the entire Bible through ei
knees. Of George Miller and Henry
at their death it was found that their
like the soles of their feet. With th
fasted much. They imparted the sa
bership.

4. They laid great emphasis in the
doctrine and experience of entire sa
by Wesley and Albright. Upon this
gave no uncertain sound. They he
of freedom from all sin through grac
they taught that this state of grac
attained after conversion, but in this
death; they urged the people in e
horted them daily to seek this bless
ministers themselves were expected
Indeed, Mr. Albright once told the
unless he attained this state of grace
to preach the gospel in the fullness

5. They were strict disciplinarians
law became no dead letter. The di
was rigidly and impartially enforced.
or infraction of the rules was wro

for a pure and spiritual church. They were strict in very small matters. Everything that savored of or tended to worldly conformity in dress or social custom was frowned upon. They tithed mint and anise and cummin, but they did not neglect the weightier matters of the law. Under their administration law and authority were respected because they were enforced.

These things we believe are the chief reasons for their success in building up a church which has, as its chief characteristics, insistence upon conversion, spiritual worship, and holy living.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF LEGISLATION.

As we have already seen, Jacob Albright naturally loved method and order. At that time a spirit of ecclesiastical independency was rampant, to which many good and pious men yielded. But Mr. Albright had no sympathy with it. Accordingly, so soon as the work of his hands began to assume an organized shape, he saw and felt the need of firm, regular administration. Hence also steps were at once taken to prepare a code of rules and system of doctrine.

The first conference, in 1807, formally adopted the episcopal form of government. That conference elected Albright bishop, and instructed him to prepare a book of discipline. He at once began the task, but his early death the following year left the work incomplete. In December, 1808, Mr. George Miller, yielding reluctantly to the urgent appeals of his brethren, took up the work where Albright had left it. In a most remarkable manner Miller, about the same time, became seriously ill; so that he was physically unable to preach or travel regularly, but was still able to do literary work. This has always been regarded as a special providence. The compilation of the discipline caused him much anxiety. He prayed most fervently for help and guidance, and not in vain.

At last, when the second conference met in April, 1809, in his own house, he was able to present the completed draft of the discipline, which was adopted. In its preparation he had made use of a German translation of the

Articles of Faith of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which had been made by one Ignatius Romer, at the instance of the German Methodist preacher, Henry Boehm, in 1808.[1]

This first discipline was a small book of seventy-five pages, and contained not only Articles of Faith and rules of discipline, but certain disquisitions upon doctrinal points, drawn from the writings of Wesley and Fletcher. These disquisitions treated of "Christian Perfection," "Election," "The Final Perseverance of the Saints," and a warning against "Antinomianism." It was thus a brief theological compendium, which was of great value to the ministry.

The adoption of this book of discipline resulted in great good. It served to introduce uniformity and order, and contributed greatly to the connectional unity of the church in doctrine, mode of worship, and manner of life.

The first General Conference in 1816 adopted the second edition of the discipline, revised and improved by John Dreisbach and Henry Niebel. Some changes were made; the book was rearranged and divided into chapters and sections, and contained substantially the book of discipline as it is to-day. The lengthy doctrinal dissertations, however, were discontinued. This may, therefore, be the proper place to define more specifically the doctrines and principles of government.

The Articles of Faith are twenty-one in number, and strictly embody the Arminian system of doctrine in its Wesleyan form. There is nothing erratic in our creed; we hold to the common faith of orthodox Christians. We believe in the spirituality and trinity of God, the divinity as well as perfect humanity of the Son of God, and the true divinity of the Holy Ghost. The canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament "contain the will of God so far as it is necessary for us to know for our salvation."

[1] Asbury's "Journal," vol. iii., p. 293.

The Articles of Faith cannot be altered by the General Conference, except Article xix., according to the first restriction under Section 73. This restriction was adopted

class-leaders, exhorters, stewards, Sunday-school superintendents, and a representative of each board of trustees. It is presided over by the presiding elder of the district. Its jurisdiction is confined to the charge which it represents. It watches over the moral and official conduct of the official and private members of the charge. Composed almost entirely of laymen, it has "to examine candidates for the ministry in reference to their moral character, doctrinal views, and other abilities," and may recommend them to the Annual Conference for license.

The Annual Conference meets annually, is presided over by a bishop, and consists of "all itinerant preachers who have traveled, and also, by ordination, stand in full connection with the ministry." Its function is principally administrative, and, upon occasion, judicial. It has no legislative power as such. Its jurisdiction is limited to the geographical territory assigned to it by the General Conference. At the session of the Annual Conference the bishop, with the assistance of the presiding elders (the latter are officers elected by the conference and by it assigned to districts for the purpose of superintendence), "assigns the preachers their respective fields of labor, for one year. In this power he is restricted by the rule that no preacher can remain more than three years successively upon the same charge. The proceedings of the conference must be signed by each member "as a testimony of acquiescence and obedience as in the sight of God."

The General Conference meets quadrennially, and consists of the bishops, the senior book agent, the editors of the official organs of the church, and the corresponding secretary of the missionary society, as *ex-officio* members, and one delegate, elected by the respective Annual Conferences, for every fourteen or surplus of seven of their members. It was made a delegated body by the General

Conference in 1839. Previous to that time all the elders of the church were members of the General Conference; since then the delegates are elected from among the elders.

The General Conference is the supreme court of law in the church; it has power to make rules and arrangements for our church, and for the purpose of carrying its authority into effect. In its judicial capacity its adjudications are final. In its legislative capacity its powers are modified by two restrictions only:

1. It cannot alter, detract from, or add to the Articles of Faith, save Article xix., pertaining to civil governments.

2. Except in the rules designated as Temporal Economy, it cannot amend the discipline unless either previously recommended or subsequently ratified by two thirds of the members of all the Annual Conferences, and such amendment must have the support by vote of three fourths of the members of the General Conference.

The General Conference is the most important body in the church. It is composed of representatives of the whole church. It is superior to every officer and body in the church, according to the discipline. It, and it alone, creates Annual Conferences and determines their boundaries. It elects bishops and all general church officers, and calls them to account. It is the final authority in the interpretation of the law of the church. Its adjudications and arraignments are binding upon the whole church. Up to this time the Annual and General Conferences have been composed exclusively of ministers, but at the last General Conference (1891) steps were taken looking to the admission of laymen to the General Conference.

In all these bodies a majority of votes prevails. The duty of the minority is plainly stated to be that of acquiescence. The members of the Annual and General Conferences are required, at the close of each session, to sign

and obedi-
so has been

district. He has no power to transfer from one conference to another. He has power, where circumstances require, to suspend a preacher pending a trial. The office is one of great influence and grave responsibility. It imposes the care of all the churches. It necessarily involves large discretionary power, and great deference is paid to the opinion and wish of the bishop.

The bishops of the Evangelical Association have been the following:

Bishop Jacob Albright, elected in 1807, died in 1808;
Bishop John Seybert, elected in 1839, died in 1859;
Bishop Joseph Long, elected in 1843, died in 1869;
Bishop William W. Orwig, elected in 1859, died in 1889 (served one term);
Bishop John J. Esher, elected in 1863 (still in office);
Bishop Rudolph Dubs, elected in 1875 (deposed in 1891);
Bishop Thomas Bowman, elected in 1875 (still in office);
Bishop Sylvester C. Breyfogel, elected in 1891 (still in office);
Bishop William Horn, elected in 1891 (still in office).

Upon the general subjects of moral reform the discipline contains strong prohibitive clauses against slavery and the manufacture and use of and traffic in intoxicating liquors. The Evangelical Association never had a slaveholder in its membership. The General Conference in 1839 adopted a rule declaring slavery and traffic in human souls a great evil, to be abhorred by every Christian, and strictly forbidding any member from holding slaves or trafficking in the same. This was long before the antislavery agitation by Garrison and his compeers really took hold of the nation.

The same General Conference also adopted a rule prohibiting our members from making, preparing, dealing in,

or using, as a drink, spirituous or intoxicating liquors except as a medicine. The preachers were enjoined from countenancing or encouraging the manufacture or sale of liquors. This was in 1839, in a church composed at that time almost exclusively of Germans. And to this day no member of the Evangelical Association could lawfully be a liquor-seller or drinker.

FROM the beginning, the w
sociation was essentially of a
was to bring the gospel to eve
Ghost sent down from heave
with zeal and self-denial for
barely sufficient to keep them
by day, preached evenings, a
night. In fastings often, in p
men, they pushed through f
pioneer settlement to another
civilization, preaching in barn
halls, or wherever men could
There were no churches at all
erected in 1817, at New Ber
frame structure 34 × 38 feet i
edifices were erected here and
plainest pattern, with neither t
pews are always free.

About 1837, however, John S
liche Botschafter," directed att

Its first president was William W. Orwig.
collection amounted to $26.50; its contribu
first year of its existence amounted to more t

Hitherto the church had been strictly conf
mission work. But now her heart was yearn
fields. Macedonian calls reached her ears
and the interminable West. The missiona
awakened. The necessity for a general missi
soon became apparent, to which the conferen
societies should be tributary. Accordingl
1839, a meeting with this in view was held
of John Dunkel, in Union County, Pa., at
Seybert, George Brickley, and William W.
mitted the draft of a constitution for such a s
was adopted. This organization was subs
proved and adopted by the General Conf
met March 25, 1839, in Centre County, I
conference also dissolved the Eastern and W
ferences, and created three new conferences,
Pennsylvania, West Pennsylvania, and Ohio, tl
society of the Eastern Conference, called "
Evangelical Missionary Society," also passed
ence, and was afterward reorganized as th
Society of the East Pennsylvania Conference
the Missionary Society of the Evangelical Asso
affairs of the society are managed by the Gen
Missions, composed of the officers of the soc
delegate from each of the Annual Conferen
societies. It makes the necessary appropriati
vides for the extension of the work. During
between its meetings, which are annual, it
managed by an executive committee. The
of the society are in Cleveland, O., where it i
porated under the laws of Ohio.

gart there is a flourishing publisl
lingen a successful theological
establishment has also been put
and has become a blessing to thou
of souls have been saved, the stat
to greater zeal, and the whole na
by their work, supported very
from America.

In 1875 the General Confere
Japan, for which a fund of $30,oc
tributed in advance. The first m
in 1876. To-day there is an An
(organized in 1893), with 16 mi
church edifices, a theological trai
day-schools. The work is prosp

In all there are 26 Annual Conf
States, 1 in Canada, 2 in Europe
which has a Conference Missionar
ship of the church voluntarily co
annually for missions, or about $
ing the fiscal year ending Septem
tions amounted to $1.52 per men

The present officers of the soci

50 auxiliaries. It is doing a blessed work, not only by extra gifts and prayers for the work abroad, but among the women and children at home, by stimulating missionary intelligence and the cultivation of the missionary spirit.

The Publishing House is the oldest, and no doubt the most important, institution of the church, and owes its inception under God to John Dreisbach, who purchased the first printing outfit in Philadelphia in 1815 at a cost of $375.68. The General Conference, in October, 1816, purchased the first Publishing House in New Berlin, Union County, Pa. It was a building 20×26 feet in size and one and a half stories high.

In 1836 the "Christliche Botschafter" was founded as the first organ of the church, and the first German religious periodical in America. This enterprise proved a success from the beginning. The membership, then numbering about 7000, hailed this periodical with joy. The paper began with a circulation of 700. In 1837 it rose to 1100. It proved an important means of financial income. Its influence upon the church was prodigious: it unified the membership and widened immeasurably the horizon of their views. As the official organ of the church, its authority was everywhere acknowledged. It now has a circulation of 20,000. Its present editor is Rev. G. Heinmiller.

In 1847 the "Evangelical Messenger" was founded by the General Conference to meet the growing wants of the rapidly increasing English portion of the church. The church, though originally German in its antecedents and in its chosen field, has always welcomed with open arms the spread of the work in English. The literary needs of the English-speaking portion of the church were recognized and promptly met by the issue of this new periodi-

cal, which became, equally with the "Botschafter," an official organ of the church. Its present editor is Rev.

church between the quadrennial sessions of the General Conference.

Institutions of Learning.—During the earlier periods in the history of the Evangelical Association there was pronounced opposition to the establishment of higher institutions of learning. This arose from the fact that so many of the worthless "pastors" of the old churches came from the skeptical universities of the fatherland. Moral corruption and education thus came to be associated together in the minds of the people because they were found together, and the people came to the conclusion that education produced a corrupt ministry. Especially were these simple-minded yeomen prejudiced against theological seminaries, which they called "preacher factories." But through agitation and increased enlightenment these false conceptions gradually yielded to better sentiments. The cause of education has received enthusiastic support in later years.

The church now has seven institutions of learning, to wit: Northwestern College, Naperville, Ill.; Union Biblical Institute, Naperville, Ill.; Central Pennsylvania College, New Berlin, Pa.; Schuylkill Seminary, Fredericksburg, Pa.; Lafayette Seminary, Lafayette, Ore.; The Preachers' Seminary, Reutlingen, Germany; and the Evangelical Training School, Tokio, Japan. Of these the first named is the most important. Located in a suburb of Chicago, possessing an elegant building, a good laboratory and library, and a handsome endowment, this school enjoys specially fine advantages. It has a noble faculty of teachers, with Rev. H. J. Kiekhoefer, A.M., as president. There are over three hundred students.

Ebenezer Orphan Home.—At Flat Rock, O., is located

A large, commodious edifice, including chapel, school-rooms, workrooms, hospital and dormitories, has been constructed. Here 140 orphans are housed, clothed, fed, and educated. The institution is amply endowed and generously supported.

The Young People's Alliance.—This is the latest organization in the church. It was begun in 1890, and already numbers 13 conference branches, 500 local alliances, and 15,000 members. So rapid has been the growth of this organization that it already takes its place among the working forces of the church, which promises great results in the future.

A SECESSION.

The Evangelical Association has been peculiarly fortunate in preserving her unity and keeping herself intact. Although she has been in existence nearly a century, and that during a century most fertile in ecclesiastical revolutions, schisms, and distractions, yet the Evangelical Association has suffered from but one schismatic movement of any consequence. This movement dates its incipiency to the year 1860, and its final culmination in division to the year 1891. The beginning of the trouble was caused by the antagonism of Rev. Solomon Neitz, of Pennsylvania, and some others of less importance, to the doctrine of entire sanctification as taught in the discipline of the church, and the emphatic repudiation of his views by the General Conference in 1859 by formal vote, and in 1863 by the defeat of Neitz for bishop and the election of John J. Esher. From time to time new issues arose to add fuel to the fire. Although the doctrinal dispute abated, the

The opposition to the doctrine of the ch
lowed by opposition to the authority of the cl
opposition found a champion in Rev. R. D
1867 was elected editor of the "Christliche
and eight years later was made a bishop. Th
R. Dubs to the episcopacy was the signal tha
was organized. He was popular, ambitious,
to be unscrupulous. Those who worked for
plished his election afterward said they did
might "put Bishop Esher down." To this pu
Dubs afterward confessed that he lent himsel
powers. The cause of the opposition to Bisho
lay in the fact that in 1863 he was elected to
office as the opposition candidate to Rev. Sol
Bishop Esher stood for the doctrine of holiness
the discipline. He also stood for law and or
the opposition to him from the source above

At the General Conference of 1887, in Bu
Rev. H. B. Hartzler, for eight years editor of
gelical Messenger," was tried for and convicte
dination and official misconduct, in using the
church against the institutions, management, a
of the church. But in order to placate, as m
sible, the friends of the editor, the conference
mildest sentence possible, simply removing h
office as editor. Yet some of his friends re
quiesce by declining to sign the proceedings
ference, as the discipline requires. The dep
and his party thereupon immediately started a
ized opposition paper, which he edited, and i

together, and continued to recog-
although factions of five and nearly
ferences refused to recognize them, t
ure in those bodies.

The next General Conference, wh
all these matters, was appointed to
The General Conference of 1887 ha
of fixing the place to the Board
board, in the fall of 1890, fixed Inc
place. In the following February th
Pennsylvania Conference adhering to
the action of the General Conferen
appointment of the Board of Publica
adelphia, Pa., as the place for the
1891. With this act the last hope
destroyed, and the minority seceded.
Annual Conferences and the deleg
conferences (divided on the questio
Bishops Esher and Bowman), with
of the church save one, met in Inc
from two undivided and the five div
one general officer, met in Philadelp
sion became an accomplished fact.
sembly forthwith set up a claim to

Ohio the Circuit Court, sitting in Cuyahoga County, where the Board of Publication and the Board of Missions are incorporated, has decided in favor of the Indianapolis General Conference. This decision has also been sustained by the Supreme Court of Ohio. In the State of Oregon the highest courts to which the case has been carried have done likewise. In Pennsylvania the case has been carried to the Supreme Court of the State. One court, Common Pleas, in Reading, Pa., has decided to the effect that no General Conference was held in 1891. Three Masters in Chancery in that State have reported in favor of the Indianapolis General Conference. In Iowa and Ohio the case is pending before the Supreme Court of those States.

The extent of the rupture cannot as yet be determined. It is believed that when the civil courts have once finally determined the question of property rights, the vast majority, even of those who adhere to the minority, will conclude to recognize the proper authorities and remain in the church, there being no great vital issue involved. All the general institutions of the church—Publishing House, Missionary Society, Benevolent Society, Sunday-school and Tract Union, Orphan Home, Northwestern College, Union Biblical Institute—and all the work in foreign lands have remained exclusively under the control of those adhering to the lawful General Conference. The work is organized in twenty-five Annual Conferences as of yore, and at least 125,000 members adhere firmly to the church. Of the remaining 25,000 many have gone to other churches,

Hence the attempt to overthrow her authority and disrupt her organization has been so bitterly resented. It is the hope of all that the trouble will prove to have taught many valuable lessons, and that the church, freed from discordant elements, will be able to pursue her God-given mission under the blessing of God.

General Observations.—As we have seen, the work of Jacob Albright and his co-laborers was, in its inception, a vigorous protest against mere nominal Christianity. The first point insisted upon is the necessity of the new birth as the basis of a true Christian life and character. This, in the pulpit theology of the Evangelical Association, is called conversion—a broad term, which includes repentance and faith on man's part, and justification or pardon, regeneration, and assurance of adoption wrought within us on God's part, of which the subject is clearly conscious. This was and is continually insisted upon in the preaching of this church. In our conception, conversion is a mighty, radical change, wrought in the heart of the penitent believer, whereby he consciously becomes a new creature in Christ Jesus.

Spirituality of worship was another result aimed at. Ritualism is the cult of formality, the expression of nominal Christianity. God is a Spirit, and seeketh such as worship him in spirit and in truth. With him all time and every place is holy. Let everything be done decently and in order, but let not the spirit of worship be suppressed by Latin formulas. Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. Hence the public services of the Evangelical Association have always been characterized by freedom from iron-clad forms. All our people belong to the holy priesthood, and are expected to exercise the sacred function of prayer both in secret and public, and that without such

artificial aid as that of a prayer-book. Not unfrequently these services were, especially in former days, enlivened by shouts of praise and loud demonstrations of joy. Yet everything that savors of disorder or fanaticism has been persistently frowned upon and suppressed. Mr. Albright himself was particularly averse to what the fathers called "wild-fire," or fanatical excesses.

The members of the Evangelical Association are expected, as a consequence of a deep experience in God and the exercise of a truly spiritual worship, to demonstrate the reality of their religious character and experience by a holy life. Conformity to the world in social customs, in commercial practice, and in personal conduct has always been denounced as inconsistent with the high standard of religious experience. The life of our people, therefore, has been characterized by great simplicity and freedom from lofty social pretense. The weapons of their warfare are not carnal, but mighty to the pulling down of strongholds. As a basis of this high moral standard our people have been constantly urged to seek entire sanctification and Christian perfection, so that they might walk worthy of their high and holy calling.

These three things, sound conversion, spiritual worship and holy living, are essential features of a true church and it has been the aim of the Evangelical Association to

to Christ. Her mission to the churches is the infusion of vital godliness, the quickening of spiritual life everywhere by a ministry converted, sanctified, and called of God. She has not been an ecclesiastical parasite, living upon others. The Evangelical Association has always hewn her own marble in the rough. Her ministry has always been more concerned to save the people for Christ than to proselyte them for the church.

In this path, marked out by her revered founder, let her continue. Let it be her object to be a communion of truly converted, spiritually quickened souls, united together for mutual edification among themselves, and for aggressive evangelism in the world. So will she bring many sons unto glory, and be a mighty factor in the universal conquest of the world for Christ the Lord.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN

1820–1893.

COMPILED BY

SAMUEL MACAULEY

HONORARY DOCTOR OF LAWS (WASHINGTON AND
AND OF DIVINITY (UNIVERSITY OF THE CITY

PREFATORY NOTE.

As this is the first attempt ever made to put together the titles of the books upon the general subject of religious history in the United States which have appeared in this country since 1820, it leaves much to be desired. The main sources are: the Roorbach and Kelly Catalogues of American books (*Bibliotheca Americana*, New York, 1820–61, 4 vols.; *American Catalogue*, 1861–71, 2 vols.), and their successor the *American Catalogue*, 1876 sqq., which is now the best trade catalogue published; the *Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum;* and the various bibliographies already given or to be printed in this series. It has been the labor of months to bring together the materials these sources furnished. The Roorbach and Kelly lists are notoriously defective and inaccurate. Hence any use of them must share these blemishes. Great care has been taken to secure accuracy by comparison of lists and special searches in biographical dictionaries, especially in *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography*, edited by Gen. James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, which is remarkably full and on the whole satisfactory. The British Museum *Catalogue* is simply indispensable, and has supplied information when every other source failed. Comparison of the titles here given with those in Roorbach and Kelly will show how much correction has been made.

This Bibliography does not pretend to be more than a compilation, but it aims at giving this information: short titles of all the books which properly fall within its scope; author's surname, initials, place of publication, name of publisher, date, number of volumes, size, and price. Wherever any of these items is missing it is because the compiler had sought in vain for it. The titles are given both by subject and author; usually but not always with equal fullness. There are also a few cross-references where these seemed desirable. Honorary degrees are ignored, but where "Rev." appears in the previously printed lists in the trade catalogues, it is allowed to stand. It should be remarked that the compiler read the catalogues and marked what titles should be copied, and did all the editorial work upon them, but the mechanical labor of copying was done principally by his assistant, Mr. Clemens Petersen.

SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON.

May 10, 1894.

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